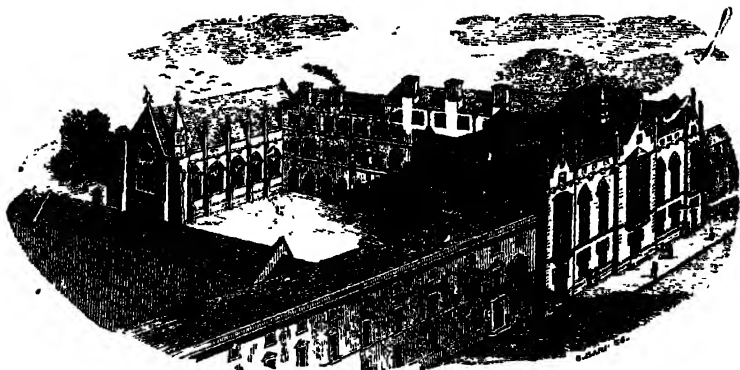


The Quarterly Review
vol. 89

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Treasurer,
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DEUM TIMEO: REGNAM HONORATO: VIRTUTEM COLITO: DISCIPLINIS BONIS
OPERAM DATO.

PROFESSORS AND DEMONSTRATOR.

<i>General & Surgical Anatomy</i>	Professor SANDS COX, F.R.S., Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Senior Surgeon of the Queen's Hospital
<i>Descriptive Anatomy, Physiology, and Comparative Anatomy</i>	Professor LANGSTON PARKER, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Surgeon of the Queen's Hospital
<i>Materia Medica and Therapeutics</i>	Professor S. WRIGHT, M.D., D.C.L., L.L.D., F.A.S., Physician to the Queen's Hospital, and Senior Physician to the General Dispensary Professor G. B. KNOWLES, F.L.S., Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Surgeon of the Queen's Hospital
<i>Chemistry</i>	Professor GEORGE SHAW, Esq., Fellow of the Royal Botanical Society of Edinburgh, and Member of the Chemical Society of London
<i>Medicine</i>	Professor JOHN ECCLES, M.D., Physician to the General Hospital Professor JAMES JOHNSTONE, M.D., (Cant.) Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London, and Senior Physician of the General Hospital
<i>Surgery</i>	Professor SANDS COX, F.R.S.
<i>Midwifery</i>	Professor SAMUEL BERRY, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, Surgeon to the Magdalen Asylum
<i>Forensic Medicine</i>	Professor JOHN BIRT DAVIES, M.D., Member of the Royal College of Physicians, London, and Senior Physician of the Queen's Hospital
<i>Botany</i>	Professor G. B. KNOWLES, F.L.S.
<i>Anatomical Demonstrations</i>	Mr. DAVID BOLTON, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons
<i>Civil Engineering</i>	" "
<i>Architecture</i>	" "
<i>Law and Jurisprudence</i> ...	Professor C. R. KENNEDY, M.A., Barrister at Law, late Fellow of Trin. Col., Cambridge

WARNEFORD DIVINITY LECTURER.

<i>Theology & Christian Ethics</i>	The Rev. HORACE F. GRAY, M.A., Prebendary of Wells, Resident Warden
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TUTORS.

<i>Classics</i>	The Rev. G. RICHARDS, M.A., Oxon, Senior Resident Classical Tutor
<i>Mathematics</i>	The Rev. W. HUNT, M.A., Cantab. Senior Resident Tutor in the Junior Department
<i>Medicine and Surgery</i> ...	Mr. CHARLES PARDEY, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, Junior Resident Tutor

MASTERS.

<i>French</i>	Mons. I. O'FLANAGAN
<i>German</i>	Herr LAMPERT
<i>Drawing</i>	Mr. CHARLES DOCKER
<i>Gymnastics and Fencing</i> ...	Mr. WALKER

THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE.

GENERAL DESIGN OF THE COLLEGE.

In 1824, Mr. Sands Cox entertained the idea of forming a School of Medicine and Surgery for Birmingham and the Midland Counties; with that view he prepared himself by foreign travel, inspecting the plans and course of Study pursued on the Continent, examining the Schools, Hospitals, Museums and Laboratories in France, Germany and Italy, and comparing them with the systems pursued and plans of study prevailing in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

In 1826, Mr. Cox returned to his native town, and in 1828 succeeded in opening a Medical School at Birmingham, with the sanction, advice and support of the Drs. Johnstones and other able and influential Professional friends and consultants.

By degrees Mr. Cox enlarged his views, taking advantage of every opportunity of improvement and of every suggestion which was made for the advancement of his objects, encouraged by donations of money and books, and aided by valuable contributions to his museum and library. Till at length he attracted the notice of that great and good philanthropist Dr. Warneford, who by his warm friendship and liberal grants of money, enabled Mr. Cox to turn his Medical School into a College, to which Her Majesty the Queen has been pleased to grant a Royal Charter of incorporation; soon after the College was enlarged, and divided into two departments, the Junior department preparing students for entering upon their medical studies in the Senior department with greater advantage. Other departments, under the sanction of a supplemental Charter and the Royal warrant, were quickly added, till by rapid steps Mr. Sands Cox has been enabled to complete (thanks to Dr. Warneford's continued munificence) a combined system of education in all its branches, suitable in the first instance to the wants of Parents and Guardians of youth in Birmingham and the Midland Counties. But not only so. The system is capable of any extension:—it may become a University, provided it meets with the support of the Public.

With that view the following prospectus has been drawn up with the humble hope that, by the Blessing of God, the usefulness of the institution, as an instrument of Religious training, may be extended.

Signed by the order of the Council,

Council Room,
June 11, 1851.

JAMES THOMAS LAW,
Vice-Principal.

THE CHRISTIAN BASIS OF THE COLLEGE.

In all the arrangements which have been made, those who have had the direction of the affairs of the College have kept their eyes fixed upon the system which has stood the test of so long experience, and received the sanction of so many great and gifted minds, as existing and in vigorous operation in our ancient Universities, still not restricting themselves from such modifications as time and circumstances have rendered necessary. On this principle they have maintained, together with the kindred Institution of King's College, in London, that every system of general education for the youth of a Christian community ought to comprise instruction in the Christian Religion as an indispensable part, without which the acquisition of other branches of knowledge will be conclusive neither to the happiness of the individual, nor the welfare of the State.

THE PARTICULAR OBJECTS OF THE COLLEGE.

The objects of the College are,—

I.—To prepare Medical Students, by a complete course of Professional Education in all the Branches of Medicine and Surgery and the Auxiliary Sciences, with Collegiate discipline, for becoming Candidates for the degrees of M.B., and M.D., in the University of London,—for the Diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons,—and for the Licence of the Society of Apothecaries, without any residence elsewhere.

II.—To prepare Students in a Department of General Literature, for the degrees of B. A., and M. A., in the University of London, by the systematic teaching of Classics and Mathematics, and the other required branches of instruction.

III.—To provide Collegiate Instruction, with Collegiate Discipline, for Students in the Departments of Law, Architecture and Civil Engineering.

IV.—To provide Preparatory Instruction, with appropriate Collegiate Discipline, for Junior Students, for two years, in a Junior Department.

V.—To combine with the above Studies, (with a view of making Students good Christians, as well as well-informed Members of Society, and able practitioners in Law, Medicine, Architecture, and Civil Engineering), Lectures on Church History, Christian Ethics, and the Doctrines of the Church of England.

VI.—To prepare Students for Holy Orders in a Department of Theology, specially endowed by the Rev. Dr. Warneford.

DEPARTMENTS OF THE COLLEGE.

The College is divided into five Senior and one Junior Departments. The senior departments consisting, first, of Students residing within the College, for whom are provided rooms, board, and tutelar superintendence; secondly, of non-resident Students, living with their Parents and Guardians, or in lodgings approved by the Council, and under such regulations as the Council shall think fit, who attend lectures in College daily and the College Chapel at morning and afternoon service on Sundays. The Junior department consisting partly of resident Students in the College Buildings at the Crescent, under the charge of tutors chosen by the Council, such Students dining in Hall, attending the College Chapel on Sundays, and attending Lectures daily, in Classics, Mathematics, the Modern Languages, and Drawing, and partly of non-resident Students, under the regulations hereafter set forth.

Form of Bequest to the Queen's College, Birmingham.

FOR PERSONAL ESTATE.

I give and bequeath to the Treasurer for the time being, the sum of £ to be paid free of Legacy duty, out of such part of my personal estate as I can lawfully charge with the payment of legacies to charitable uses.

Form of a Deed of Gift to the Queen's College, for the foundation of Prizes, Scholarships, Fellowships, Professorships, or for other Purposes of the College.

FOR REAL ESTATE.

This Indenture, made on the day of between A. B. of the one part, and the Principal and Council of the Queen's College at Birmingham, of the other part. Whereas the said A. B. is desirous of conveying and assuring the lands and hereditaments hereinafter particularly mentioned, by way of gift, for the use of the Queen's College. And the said Principal and Council have agreed with the said A. B. to accept a conveyance thereof for the purposes aforesaid. Now this Indenture witnesseth, that in consideration of the premises, the said A. B. doth by this deed, sealed and delivered in the presence of the two credible persons whose names are hereunto subscribed as attesting witnesses, and which deed is intended to be enrolled in Her Majesty's High Court of Chancery, within six calendar months next after the execution thereof, pursuant to the statute in such case made and provided, grant, alien, convey, and confirm unto the said Principal and Council of the said Queen's College, and their successors, All (describe the lands) and their appurtenances, and all the estate, right, title, and interest of him the said A. B. in and to the said lands, hereditaments, and premises; to have and to hold the same unto and to the use of the said Principal and Council of the said Queen's College, and their successors, in trust, for the benefit of the said Queen's College. And it is hereby agreed, by and between the said parties hereto, that this deed is intended to, and the same shall, take effect in possession, for the purpose aforesaid, immediately from and after the making thereof, and is and shall be without any power of revocation, reservation, trust, condition, limitation, clause or agreement whatsoever, for the benefit of the said A. B., or of any person or persons claiming under him.

In witness, &c.

It is enacted by the statute 9, Geo. II. c. 36, "That no lands or tenements, or money to be laid out thereon, shall be given for or charged with any charitable uses whatsoever, unless by deed indented, executed in presence of two witnesses, twelve calendar months before the death of the Donor, and enrolled in the Court of Chancery within six months after its execution, (except stocks in the Public Funds, which may be transferred within six months previous to the Donor's death,) and unless such gifts be made to take effect immediately and be without power of revocation; and that all other gifts shall be void."

JUNIOR DEPARTMENTS OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY, ARTS & GENERAL LITERATURE.

THE COUNCIL OF THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, deeply impressed with the importance of improving the preliminary education of their Students in Medicine and general Literature, have established Junior Departments of the College, in order to afford Students entrusted to their care the advantage of receiving instruction in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, (with the modern Languages and Sciences,) from Tutors of University Education, carefully selected for their abilities and acquirements.

No particular age is fixed for the admission of Students, provided they have gone through the elementary training of a Classical School, and can produce testimonials of their good conduct at such School.

The Students will be promoted according to their diligence and acquirements; but it is very desirable that Medical Students should be ready for matriculation and for receiving indentures, when required, by the time they have reached the age of sixteen, in order that they may offer themselves for the degrees of the University of London, the Diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons, and the License of the Society of Apothecaries, by the time they have attained the age of twenty-one; after which they may commence practice.

As the Society of Apothecaries in London requires the production of indentures from candidates of their having served an apprenticeship of five years, previous to examination; and as candidates for their certificates must have attained the full age of twenty-one years; and as the course of study in the Senior Department of the Queen's College occupies not less than three years for its completion; it is evident that Medical Students at the Queen's College should be at least two years in the Junior Department, and should qualify themselves for being advanced to the Senior Department at the age of eighteen.

The most important and valuable privilege of receiving indentures without premium, is offered to Students of the Queen's College by Professor SANDS COX, F.R.S. This privilege is most important and valuable; for, in addition to the pecuniary aid which it affords, it relieves Students from the danger of those vexatious, if not degrading services, to which apprentices have too frequently been found subjected.

Further, the Council beg leave to assure their friends, that no pains will be spared by them to improve, by all means, the tone of moral and religious feeling, and to raise the standard of proficiency among the Students; and to fit them, as gentlemen, for filling, with credit to themselves and advantage to the public, any post to which they may be called.

A Tutor, a graduate of Cambridge, in Holy Orders, resides within the walls of the College, to whom is entrusted by the Council the superintendence of all resident Students, under strictly Collegiate Discipline.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

The Students to attend Divine Service on Sundays in the College Chapel, and also the Warden's lectures and examinations on subjects of Divinity and Morals during the week. The business of each day to commence with Prayers. The hours of attendance on Lectures to be from eight o'clock, a.m., until noon, and from three o'clock until five, p.m. A Register of the attendance and the general conduct of the students to be kept by the Warden and Tutors, and periodical Reports to be transmitted to parents and guardians. Previously to the close of each session an examination to be held and prizes awarded, to be distributed at the Annual General Meeting of Governors. The names of Students who come into College after eight o'clock in the winter, and nine o'clock in the summer, p.m., to be entered in a book to be kept by the porter, with the hour at which they come in. No Student to be absent from College any night during his residence, without the express permission of the Senior Tutor. In case of infringement of the rules and regulations of the College, the Senior Tutor shall have power to enforce the same, by restraint of hours, and by literary exercises called impositions. In any case in which the Senior Tutor shall consider restitution necessary, he shall confer with the Warden, and the Warden and Senior Tutor together may rusticate for any period not exceeding two months. Whenever the Senior Tutor considers dismissal or expulsion necessary, he is to confer with the Warden and Dean of the Faculty, and they shall report the same in writing to the Council, together with a detailed statement of the circumstances.

TWO YEARS' COURSE OF STUDY.

The course of study prepares Students for undergoing, at the conclusion of the first or second year, an Examination for Matriculation at the University of London; and also the Latin Examination of the Society of Apothecaries.

FIRST YEAR.

WINTER TERM.

9-10	Chemistry	The Med. Tutor
9-10	Latin & Greek	The Clal. Tutor
10-11	Arithmetic	The Math. Tutor
11-12	English Literat.	The Clal. Tutor
3-4 P.M.	Latin & Greek	The Clal. Tutor
4-5	Euclid	The Math. Tutor

SUMMER TERM.

9-10 A.M.	Chemistry	The Med. Tutor
9-10	Latin & Greek	The Clal. Tutor
10-11	Algebra	The Math. Tutor
11-12	English Literat.	The Clal. Tutor
2-3 P.M.	Latin & Greek	The Clal. Tutor
3-4	Botany	The Med. Tutor

SECOND YEAR.

WINTER TERM.

8-9 A.M.	Latin & Greek	The Clal. Tutor
9-10	Mathematics	The Math. Tutor
10-12	Materia Medica	The Med. Tutor
3-4 P.M.	Dissections	The Med. Tutor
4-5	Latin & Greek	The Clal. Tutor

SUMMER TERM.

8-9 A.M.	Latin & Greek	The Clal. Tutor
9-10	Mathematics	The Math. Tutor
10-12	Materia Medica	The Med. Tutor
2-3 P.M.	Botany	The Med. Tutor
3-4	Latin & Greek	The Clal. Tutor

Lectures on Church History will be delivered once a week by the Senior Tutor.

The Students of the Junior Department are attended by a French Master for one hour twice a week, and the same by German and Drawing Masters, at the option of parents and guardians. Subject to these conditions, attendance of students at the classes will be enforced.

COLLEGE EXPENCES AND TERMS OF TUITION.

FIRST YEAR.			SECOND YEAR.		
College Fees ..	...	£5 0 0	College Fees ..	...	£5 0 0
Commons, Residence, &c. &c.	4 0 0		Commons, Residence, &c. &c.	48 0 0	
Classics ..	...	4 4 0	Classics ..	...	4 4 0
Mathematics ..	...	4 4 0	Mathematics ..	...	4 4 0
Chemistry and Botany ..	...	3 3 0	Materia Medica ..	...	3 3 0
French ..	...	3 3 0	French ..	...	3 3 0
German ..	...	3 3 0	German ..	...	3 3 0
Drawing ..	...	3 3 0	Dispensing ..	...	3 3 0

The payments for Commons, Residence, &c. &c. to be made by three instalments, £18 on October 1st, £18 on January 1st, and £12 on May 1st, every year.

Non-resident Students to be admissible annually to the junior department. Such Non-resident Students to pay the College fee, and the usual charge for tuition in such classes as they attend.

Students who desire to participate in the benefits of the College for a more limited period, are also admissible on special application to the Council, on the like payment of the annual College fee, and the usual charges for tuition in such Classes as they attend.

Non-resident Students, while within the walls of the College, to be subject in every respect to its rules and discipline. Such Non-resident Students, at other times, to be under the control of their parents or guardians, or the Senior College Tutor.

PRIZES IN THE JUNIOR DEPARTMENT.

EXHIBITIONS.—The University of London offers two Exhibitions of £30 each, for two years, to the candidates who shall respectively distinguish themselves most in Classics, and in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

PRIZES.—The University of London offers two Prizes of £5 each, to candidates who shall respectively distinguish themselves most in Chemistry, and in Botany or Zoology. And the Queen's College offers to its Students the Piercy Prize of £5 5s. for proficiency in German, and the Webster Prize of £5 5s. for French. Prizes of Books are also usually given by the Warden and Tutors, to the most deserving Students in the several classes.

NOTICE.

Previous to admission in October next, Students about to enter the Junior Department will be required to give one month's notice to the Dean of the Faculty, and to forward a testimonial of good conduct and qualifications, and before admission, will be examined by the Warden, in the construing and parsing of a Greek and Latin author; in Arithmetic of integers and vulgar fractions, and in the elements of the English Language and History.

DEPARTMENT OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

The system of study pursued in this department constitutes a complete course of Collegiate, Medical, and Surgical Education. The lectures qualify for examination for the Diplomas of the Royal College of Surgeons and the Society of Apothecaries, without any residence elsewhere.

Students who have passed through the Junior Department of this College, and have there in due course matriculated at the University of London, may present themselves for the first M.B. examination at the end of their first year in the Senior Medical Department. At the end of the second year, matriculated Students who deferred this examination at the University of London, have again the opportunity of presenting themselves. At the end of the third year, Students are eligible for the M.B. Degree in the University of London, for the Diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and for the License of the Society of Apothecaries.

A Tutor in holy orders, a Graduate of Oxford, resides within the walls of the College to whom is committed by the Council the superintendence of all resident students, strictly under Collegiate discipline, and also the surveillance of Non-resident Students.

COLLEGE REGULATIONS.

Every Student to pay the annual College Fee of £5, to subscribe his name in the Obligation book, and to sign a declaration that he will regularly and diligently pursue his studies. To attend Prayers daily, and on Sunday Divine Service in the Chapel, and also the Warden's Theological Lectures and examinations. To have furnished rooms with commons in College. To wear the Academical Dress whenever he appears in Hall, or at Lectures, and in the College Chapel. The names of Students who come into the College after ten o'clock, p.m., to be entered in a book, to be kept by the Porter, with the hour at which they come in. No Student to be absent from College any night during his residence without the express permission of the Senior Tutor.

RESTRAINTS AND PENALTIES OF STUDENTS.—In case of the infringement or neglect of the College Regulations by any Student resident in any department, the Senior Tutor has the power of enforcing the observance of the same. By restraint of hours. By literary exercises, called impositions. By suspension. In any case in which suspension is necessary, the Senior Tutor shall inform the several Professors, in order that the attendance of such Student at Lecture be discontinued, and his certificate disallowed. By rustication. The power of rustication for a period not exceeding two months, to be vested in the Warden and Senior Tutor, or in the absence or illness of either of them, in the Dean of the Faculty and the Warden or Senior Tutor. By dismissal or expulsion. In any case in which the Senior Tutor do consider dismissal or expulsion necessary, he is to confer with the Warden and the Dean of the Faculty, and they shall report the same in writing to the Council, together with a detailed statement of the circumstances, and the Council after deliberation thereupon, shall communicate its decision to the Senior Tutor, and such decision shall be final.

TO PREVENT STUDENTS INCURRING DEBT BEYOND THEIR MEANS. Each parent or guardian on placing a Student at the College, is to inform the Warden what sum it is contemplated by such parent or guardian to allow such Student for expenses beyond the necessary and direct payments of the College. Tradesmen to be peremptorily cautioned by a public notice in suitable terms, not to allow of the purchase of articles on credit, without the express sanction of parents or guardians, or of the Senior Tutor. Through the medium of the same notice, all tradesmen's bills for articles supplied to the Students, shall be regularly delivered to the Senior Tutor and forwarded by him to the parents and guardians at the end of every term. All cases of extravagance which become known to the Tutors, shall immediately be reported to the Council, and by the Council forwarded to the parents or guardians. Every Student proved three times to the Council to have incurred debt beyond his means shall be dismissed.

COLLEGE EXPENSES.—The College Expenses, including Commons, Chamber Rent and Servants' Wages, but exclusive of College fees, will not exceed £50 for the three terms. The Students breakfast in the Hall at seven, a.m., have refreshment at twelve, dine at five, p.m., have coffee at eight, p.m. The payments to be made by three instalments, viz., £18 on the first of October, £18 on the first of January, and £14 on the first of May. Every Student will be expected to provide himself with Chamber Linen, a large and small Silver Fork, and a Table Spoon and Tea Spoon.

THE WINTER SESSION
WILL COMMENCE OCTOBER 1, 1851.

ANATOMY OF THE TISSUES AND SURGICAL ANATOMY.—**PROFESSOR SANDS COX, F.R.S.**, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. Senior Surgeon to the Queen's Hospital.

These Lectures will embrace the General Anatomy of the Tissues of the human body; a series of demonstrations of the various regions of the body, viewed in their practical relation to the most important operations in Surgery, will also be given, illustrated by recent dissections, and by an extensive museum of preparations, drawings, casts, and models.

DESCRIPTIVE ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY AND COMPARATIVE ANATOMY.—**PROFESSOR PARKER**, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. Surgeon to the Queen's Hospital.

This Course will comprehend the Descriptive Anatomy of the various organs of the body, their physical properties, connexions, and functions. They will be illustrated by recent dissections, drawings and microscopical observations.

PRACTICAL ANATOMY, WITH SUPERINTENDENCE OF DISSECTIONS.—**MR. DAVID BOLTON, M.R.C.S.**

These demonstrations are intended to form a complete Course of instruction in Practical Anatomy. The Students will be directed in their studies in the Anatomical Room, daily, by the Demonstrator and the Resident Medical Tutor.

CHEMISTRY.—**PROFESSOR SHAW**, Fellow of the Royal Botanical Society of Edinburgh, Member of the Chemical Society of London.

These Lectures will include the general principles of Chemical Science, and its connexion with Medicine and the Natural Sciences. The Laboratory will be opened during the Winter and Summer Sessions, for the reception of those who may wish to be instructed in Analysis, and the Applications of Chemistry to the Arts.

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF MEDICINE.—**PROFESSOR ECCLES, M.D.** (Edin.) Physician to the General Hospital. **PROFESSOR JAMES JOHNSTONE, M.D.** (Cantab.) Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London. Senior Physician to the General Hospital.

The system adopted in these Lectures will be founded as much as possible on the present improved state of Pathological Anatomy, and whenever it is practicable, recent morbid specimens will be presented to the class.

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF SURGERY.—**PROFESSOR SANDS COX, F.R.S.**

The Course will embrace the Theory of inflammation in general, its terminations and treatment; inflammation of the various tissues of the body, terminations and treatment. Specific inflammation, viz. Scrophula, Cancer, Syphilis, and Fungoid disease, terminations and treatment; Lesions of Continuity; Lesions of Contiguity; Diseases of the Eye operations; Elementary and Minor operations; General operations, or those practised with reference to one or more particular tissues; Special operations or those practised upon complete organs in particular regions of the body; Plastic and Subcutaneous operations.

THE SUMMER SESSION

WILL COMMENCE MAY 1, 1882.

MATERIA MEDICA AND THERAPEUTICS.—SAMUEL WRIGHT, M.D., (Edin.) LL.D., D.O.L. Physician to the Queen's Hospital, and Senior Physician to the General Dispensary. PROFESSOR KNOWLES, F.L.S., Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. Surgeon to the Queen's Hospital.

To illustrate this Course, specimens of the various articles of the Materia Medica, in their natural state, will be exhibited and described; attached to this department is a Museum of Materia Medica, to which the Students have access under certain regulations.

MIDWIFERY AND DISEASES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.—PROFESSOR BERRY, Surgeon to the Magdalen Asylum.

These Lectures will be illustrated by an extensive museum of preparations of embryology and diseased structures connected with the subject of the Course. This Course will also be delivered during the ensuing Winter Session.

The Midwifery department of the Queen's Hospital is under the immediate superintendence of the Professor of Midwifery.

FORENSIC MEDICINE.—PROFESSOR JOHN BURT DAVIES, M.D., (Edin.) Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, London. (Extra urbem.) Senior Physician to the Queen's Hospital.

The object of this Course is to teach the knowledge and conduct which are required by the Medical Witness preparatory to a public Examination in the Courts of Law, to indicate the questions in Physic, Anatomy, Physiology, Pathology, and Therapeutics, upon which the Authorities are accustomed to seek aid from Medical Men. The application of tests to the detection and analysis of poisons will especially be demonstrated by experiments.

BOTANY AND VEGETABLE PHYSIOLOGY.—PROFESSOR KNOWLES, F.L.S.

For the illustration of this Course the Lecturer has formed an extensive Herbarium; and through the liberality of the Committee of the Botanical and Horticultural Society, the Students have free access to their extensive Gardens, accompanied by the Professor. Botanical excursions will be occasionally made during the Course.

MEDICAL TUTOR.—MR. CHARLES PARDEY, M.R.C.S.

The Medical Tutor is resident in College, for the purpose of assisting the Students in their studies. He is required to devote exclusively the whole of his time to the Students. It is his especial province to prepare the Junior Students, non-resident as well as resident, for the matriculation examination of the University of London. To devote daily a certain number of hours to the Senior Students, non-resident as well as resident in the dissecting room, and to examine from time to time on the subjects of the various Lectures.

REGULATIONS OF THE ATTENDANCE OF STUDENTS AT LECTURE.

A book shall be kept by each Professor, specifying the times of attendance of each Student, such book to be laid before the Council at their monthly meetings.

Previously to the commencement of every Lecture the Professor shall call over the names of the Students.

Each Professor shall keep a register of the time of commencement and duration of each of his Lectures, such register to be laid before the Council of each monthly Board.

The Professors, Tutors, and Masters shall forward to the Warden seven days before the end of each term, their registers of attendance, or a terminal report of the attendance, conduct, and progress of each Student in their respective Classes and departments, from which details a General Report shall be drawn up by the Warden and submitted to the Council, and copies of the Reports on each Student shall be forwarded by the Warden to the Parent or Guardian of each Student.

NON-RESIDENT STUDENTS.—Non-resident Students are admissible, and may reside with their parents or guardians, or with a relation or friend selected by their parents or guardians, and approved by the Council. The Senior Tutor in each department is authorised to enquire into the habits and general conduct of such Out-Students at their respective residences, and to report to the Council thereupon at the end of every term. Out-Students, if members of the Church of England, will be required to attend the Warden's weekly Theological Lecture, and Divine service in the College Chapel every Sunday, unless the parent or guardian of the Student requests the attendance of such Student at his own place of Worship. If the Student be attached to any other communion, he will be expected to attend at the place of Worship belonging thereto every Sunday. Non-resident Students will be allowed to dine in the College Hall, either regularly or occasionally, on giving such notice, and paying such sum, as shall be fixed by the Council.

FEEES FOR LECTURES.

	Single Course.	Perpetual.
Anatomy and Physiology	£5 6 0	£10 10 0
Anatomical Demonstrations	3 3 0	5 5 0
Chemistry	6 6 0	9 9 0
Materia Medica	4 4 0	5 5 0
Botany	3 3 0	5 5 0
Medicine	4 4 0	7 7 0
Surgery	3 3 0	6 6 0
Forensic Medicine	3 3 0	5 5 0
Midwifery	3 3 0	6 6 0

FEEES FOR THREE YEARS' COURSE.

The composition fees to be paid for the three years' course of study, required by the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and the Society of Apothecaries, amount to £42 (exclusive of College Fees £5 per annum), and Hospital Practice £21. The payment to the Professors may be made at once, or in two equal sums, viz. £21 on matriculation, and £21 twelve months afterwards.

QUEEN'S HOSPITAL, BATH ROW.

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DR. JOHNSTONE.

DR. J. K. BOOTH.

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EDWARD TOWNSEND COX.

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Surgeons,

W. SANDS COX, F.R.S. G. B. KNOWLES, F.L.S. LANGSTON PARKER, F.R.M.C.S.

FEEES FOR ADMISSION TO THE HOSPITAL PRACTICE, AND TO THE CLINICAL LECTURES.

Students may compound for three years' payment of £21 0
One Year's Attendance 10 10

One Physician and One Surgeon attends daily at Nine o'clock.

The Physicians' Clerks and Surgeons' Dressers are selected according to merit from the Students, without any additional fee, and hold office twelve months.

CLINICAL LECTURES will be delivered weekly by the Professors in the Theatre.

HOSPITAL PRIZES.—A GOLD MEDAL is offered by Professor Dr. DAVIES, for the best reported medical cases occurring in his practice at the Queen's Hospital.

A GOLD MEDAL is offered by Professor COX, for the best reported surgical cases, occurring in his practice at the Queen's Hospital.

DEPARTMENT OF ARTS & GENERAL LITERATURE.

The first Department established in the College was the Medical; but in carrying forward their great work the Council clearly apprehended that although medical science from its own intrinsic excellence and its intimate bearing upon the good of the community, must claim a place in every University Scheme, and may even legitimately form the characteristic study of any academical body, yet there was no precedent for its exclusive establishment, and but little hope that if exclusively established, it would enjoy all the advantage of that philosophical and religious enlargement which it was their great object to confer.

It is, therefore, in accordance with the soundest principle of educational science, as well as with the precedents of our ancient Universities, that the Departments of Law, Engineering, Arts, and chief of all, the Department of Theology, have been instituted in the College.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

That the Collegiate system in this department be the same as in the Medical Department. That the Lord Bishop of the Diocese be the Visitor. That the ex-officio members of the Council of Queen's College, with the Warden, do constitute a Committee of Council. That the said ex-officio members do appoint the Warden and the said Committee do appoint the Classical and Mathematical Tutors. That the Committee do appoint, under such regulations as they shall think advisable, the Fellows. That until the appointment of such Fellows, the said Committee transact all the general business of the Department. That not less than three members of the Committee including the Warden, do form a quorum. That after the appointment of the Fellows, any number of them, not exceeding twelve, may be selected for a board of management by the Committee. That such Board of Management be called "The Committee of Council of the Department of General Literature." That an annual meeting of such Committee be held on the last Wednesday in August every year.

That the Warden be a priest of the Church of England, and the Tutors priests or deacons, and Graduates of Cambridge or Oxford. That the Classical Tutor be the Senior Tutor. That such Senior Tutor be responsible for the discipline of the Department subject to the general supervision of the Warden. That in the absence of the Senior Tutor, the Mathematical Tutor do take his place and perform his duties. That both the Tutors be expected to take their meals in Hall with the Students, the Senior Tutor occupying the head of the table. That the Warden do fill the same position in the College of General Literature as the Heads of Houses in Cambridge and Oxford do with regard to their respective Colleges, excepting that the lectures on the subjects below specified be delivered by him, or be more especially under his direction.

That the Students in the department of General Literature do attend Queen's College Chapel twice every Sunday. That the Students do wear their gowns in Hall, in Chapel, and at Lectures. That every Student has a room to himself. That they have a common room. That all meals be taken in Hall, except in cases of illness with an *agrotat*, or of absence with leave.

That the Porter do close the College gates every night at ten o'clock, and that all Students be expected to be within gates at that hour. Students entering College at a later period of the night to be reported to the Tutor by the Porter, who shall have a book provided for that purpose. That for neglect or misconduct on the part of any Student, the Senior Tutor shall have the power of imposing restraint within the College walls, and literary exercises called impositions. That the Warden, in conjunction with the Classical and Mathematical Tutors, shall have the power of rustication for any period not exceeding two months. That all cases which, in the opinion of the Warden and Tutors, subject a Student to dismissal or expulsion, be referred to the Committee of Council, who are to investigate and decide thereupon.

That the Senior Tutor has the management of the domestic arrangements of the Department. That the Finance Department be under the supervision of the Warden, who is every three months to lay a statement before the Committee, and that the Committee every year appoint an Auditor. That a monthly meeting be held on the first Tuesday in every month. That the Department be self-supporting, except as far as it may be aided by individuals endowing Fellowships, Scholarships, and Professorships, establishing Prizes, and making donations of Books.

That an Examination on all the subjects of the Tutors' Lectures be held at the end of every term. That Certificates of Merit be awarded after each Examination.

that any such annual Prizes as the friends of the Institution may offer, be decided at the termination of the Midsummer Examination. That Students be expected to matriculate at the University at the end of the first year, if they have not done so previously; and that they be expected to take their Degrees of B.A. or B.C.L. or such other Degrees as their standing in the University will permit, at the end of the third year.

That every precaution be taken to prevent Students incurring debt:—1st, by cautioning tradesmen not to allow of the purchase of Articles on credit without the sanction of parents or guardians, or the Senior Tutor.—2ndly, by the Senior Tutor receiving bills for all necessary articles supplied to the Students, and forwarding the same to parents and guardians at the end of every term.—3rdly, by furnishing each Student on entering College with a list of such tradesmen as are sanctioned by the College Authorities.—4thly, by all cases of extravagance which become known to the Warden or Tutors, being immediately reported to the Council, and by them forwarded if they think fit, to the parents or guardians.—5thly, that every Student three times convicted before the Council of incurring debt beyond his means be dismissed.

That such Students as have been regular in their attendance at Chapel and Lectures, and have conducted themselves satisfactorily *in statu pupillari*, be eligible to be appointed Fellows on their attaining to the degree of B.A. or B.O.L. That a Commemoration-day be held once every year, in honour of the Founder, Mr. Sands Cox, and that the Members of the Council, and the Fellows, and their respective friends, be invited to attend.

PLAN OF STUDY.

That the *Curriculum* of study do extend over three years. That the Students of each year have distinct courses of Lectures. That the subjects of study be Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Logic, the Modern Languages, History, Natural, Political, and Moral Philosophy, and more especially Christian Ethics, and the Doctrines of the Church of England. That each Student do attend four lectures every day, namely, for one hour in the morning a lecture in Greek, for another hour a lecture in Mathematics, for one hour in the afternoon a lecture in Latin, and another hour a lecture in History, Logic, and one of the above described branches of Philosophy. That the subjects selected have particular reference to the requirements for the Examinations of the University of London. That the Tutors do confer with the Warden at the commencement of every year as to such selections, and that no deviations be afterwards made therefrom without his express permission.

The Warden to be responsible for the instruction in Christian Ethics, Church History, and the Doctrines of the Church of England. That Drawing, French, and German be expected to be learnt during the two years when the Students are in the Junior Department: but if they have not then completed such courses of study, or require for any purpose during their residence in the College instruction in the modern languages, the same to be supplied at the rate of three guineas per course per annum.

PRIZES OFFERED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, FOR THE DEGREE OF B. A.

If in the opinion of the Examiners any Candidate shall possess sufficient merit, the Candidate who shall distinguish himself the most in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and the Candidate who shall distinguish himself the most in Classics, shall each receive Fifty Pounds per annum for the next three years, with the style of University Scholar. Under the same circumstances, the candidate who shall distinguish himself the most in Chemistry, the Candidate who shall distinguish himself the most in Animal Physiology, and the Candidate who shall distinguish himself the most in Vegetable Physiology and Structural Botany, shall each receive a Prize in Books, to the value of Five Pounds.

FOR THE DEGREE OF M. A.

If in the opinion of the Examiners any Candidate shall possess sufficient merit, the Candidate who shall distinguish himself the most in Classics, the Candidate who shall distinguish himself the most in Mathematics, and the Candidate who shall distinguish himself the most in Logic, shall each receive a Gold Medal of the value of Twenty Pounds; and if the same Candidate distinguish himself the most in two or more of the said branches, he shall receive a Gold Medal in right of each branch in which he shall so distinguish himself.

SCALE OF FEES.

A College Fees	£5 0 0
Commons, Residence, &c. &c.	50 0 0
Fee for Lectures	21 0 0

DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL ENGINEERING AND ARCHITECTURE.

In this department a liberal education will be provided, terminating in an Academical Degree, and accompanied throughout by Collegiate discipline and control, and religious worship and instruction. The Lectures will also be open to clerks and assistants in the offices of Engineers, and Architects, and Railway establishments, after office hours. How far in these professions an improved discipline and intellectual enlargement has been needed any thoughtful and observant mind may adequately determine. The Council propose in this, as in the other cases, an enlarged education on an economical scale—a gradual initiation into professional pursuits, and an imbuing of the mind with sound religious principles.

THE ORDERS OF COUNCIL ARE AS FOLLOWS.

That the East wing, with its buildings, be called the Engineering Department. That arrangements be forthwith made for opening the department as early as possible. That the system of management and collegiate discipline, be the same in it as in the Department of Medicine and Surgery. That Tutors be appointed to reside in this department, to whom the tutelary care of the Students shall be entrusted. That such Tutors be Clergymen of the Church of England, and Graduated Members of one of our Chartered Universities. That such Tutors do give Lectures in Greek, Latin, English Literature, and pure Mathematics. That Professors be appointed to give Lectures in Civil Engineering, Land Surveying, Practical Mathematics, Geometrical and Architectural Drawing, the Arts of Construction, Geology, and Mineralogy. That the vacations be the same as in the other Departments. That the attendance at the weekly Divinity Lectures be the same as in the Medical and General Literature Departments. That the attendance at prayers be also the same every morning in the College Chapel, and twice on Sunday, when the morning and evening service will be performed with two sermons. That the system of Tuition do embrace a three years' course. That an Engineering Workshop be erected for the use of this department. That models be provided for the Model Room. That Students who enter the Junior Department be expected to have reached the age of about sixteen years; and that those who commence with the three years' course, be about the age of eighteen years. That Students, as soon as they enter, commence a course of preparation for matriculation in the University of London, at the end of their first year; and of taking their B.A. degree in the same University at the end of their third year. That Students of this department, who have matriculated, and graduated, be admissible as candidates for fellowships at Queen's College. And that such Students as are not qualified by sufficient knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages to matriculate and take their B.A. degree, may, at the end of their three year's course in this department, if they pass creditable examinations in the different subjects of their lectures, receive a Diploma from Queen's College, under seal, testifying to their collegiate residence, to their attendance on the College Lectures, and to their conduct in *Statu pupillari*. Out-Students to pay the College fee, and the regular fees for any course which they attend. Out-Students, when within the College walls, to be subject to the collegiate rules and discipline.

SCALE OF FEES.

Furnished Room, Board, Attendance, &c.	...	...	...	...	£50	0	0
College Fee	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Classical Tutor	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
Mathematical Tutor	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
Professor of Engineering	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
Professor of Chemistry	...	...	...	...	3	3	0
French Master	...	...	...	...	3	3	0
German Master	...	...	...	...	3	3	0
Drawing Master	...	...	...	...	3	3	0

DEPARTMENT OF LAWS.

The Council is impressed with the opinion that for the purpose not only of disciplining the mind, but of preparing it to encounter hereafter cases involving scientific knowledge, it is highly desirable for the future Attorney and Solicitor to be initiated into at least the elements of Classics, Mathematics, and General Science. If we take down any number of the law reports we may see under the word Patent or Copyright in designs, what an intimate knowledge of scientific details appears to have been acquired and exhibited by judge and counsel in dealing with evidence of scientific witnesses, the validity of patents, and the sufficiency of specifications. Thus Latin and French languages are also indispensable. The number of records and documents—public and private in both languages—which are continually the subject of examination by all concerned in the legal profession prove this. So sensible has the legislature been of the importance of securing persons of superior education to occupy this department of the profession, that in the year 1821 an act of parliament was passed, (1 and 2 Geo. IV., c. 48, s. 1.) and again re-enacted and extended in the year 1844, (9 and 7 Victoria, c. 73, s. 7.) offering great advantages to those who graduate at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, or London, viz., reducing the period of five years under service, to three years.

The legislature having offered the above great advantages to those Law Students who shall graduate at the above Universities, the Council of Queen's College, offer to those Law Students residing in Birmingham and its neighbourhood, specially, and to others generally, admittance into its Department of General Literature, wherein such Students may receive not only instruction in the Classics and Mathematics which is requisite for a B.A. and LL.B. degree, but also separate instruction in the various branches of the Law, in Courses of Lectures which will be delivered by their Professor.

There is another class of Law Students, viz., those who are articled to Conveyancers and Solicitors, whose time is very much engaged by attendance at the respective chambers and offices of such Conveyancer and Solicitor, during business hours. It is manifest that such Students cannot devote themselves to the regular studies of a College; but, they may find time for attendance upon Courses of Law. To such Students the Council offers Collegiate Residence, with furnished rooms and Commons in the College Hall; subject to Collegiate discipline, and according to the College rules and hours; such Students will be expected to be in College at Ten o'clock every night, unless absent with the knowledge and permission of the Senior Tutor. They must also attend the College Chapel twice every Sunday, unless, under the sanction of their Parents or Guardians they are attendants at any other place of worship, of which notice must be given to the Senior Tutor.

The System of College Discipline and Fees are the same as that in the Department of Arts.

LAW COURSE.

PROFESSOR KENNEDY has announced that he will follow the course indicated by Blackstone; having reference also to those books which the University of London has prescribed as subjects of examination, viz., Kent's Commentaries, Bentham's Treatise on Morals and Legislation, and Rutherford's Institute of Natural Laws. He will commence with the foundation of all positive Laws, showing that their basis is the moral nature of man, implanted in him by God. He will then proceed to the History of the Common Laws of England, and give a general review of its principles and characters, after which he will take up each particular Department in the same order (generally speaking) as they occur in Blackstone's Commentaries.

The First series of Lectures will embrace those parts of our laws which concern the Crown and executive Government, the Revenue, the Parliament, and the Church; all those subjects in short, which are usually comprised under the name of Constitutional Law—next the various Laws which concern the private relations and commercial usages of society, the Law of real and personal property, the nature of civil remedies, the practice of the Common Law Courts, and the principles of pleading; criminal jurisprudence will be next in order, and lastly a general view will be given of the principles of Equity Law, and the practice of the Court of Chancery.

FEES.

Residence in College, £50. College Fee, £5. Fee for Law Lectures, each course, £2 2s.

THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

That great benefactor to the College, the Rev. Dr. Warnford, having entertained the pious wish of making the Department of General Literature available for the purpose of training sober-minded young men, with scanty pecuniary means, for Holy Orders, and having presented the munificent donation of £4400, for the endowment of a Professorship of Pastoral Theology, to the intent that Students who intend to become candidates for Holy Orders in our Church, may be taught the Ministerial duties in their various branches, as also the composition of Sermons, the reading of the Church Services, the History of Liturgies, the reason and use of Rubrics, and all other matters connected with and subservient to a faithful and efficient performance of what the Church requires of her Pastors and Ministers for the edification of their flocks.

A similar department at King's College, London, having met with the cordial approbation of the two Archbishops and the whole of the Episcopal body, and such Archbishops and Bishops having consented to admit, as candidates for Holy Orders, those Students in Theology who should produce the Principal's certificate:—The Council have given the subject their most serious attention, and after conference with the Bishop of the Diocese, through Mr. Vaughan Thomas, have felt it their duty at once to obey Dr. Warnford's wishes, not with a view to improve the preparation for Holy Orders, which they suppose in our established Universities to be as excellent as can practically be effected—nor yet merely to give a completion and perfectness to their own Institution—but to help in some measure, with the means at their command, towards supplying the great need of additional Clergymen, particularly in such populous localities as that in which the Queen's College is situated, to supply that need, so far as their resources will extend, with men duly qualified by learning and piety for so great a work, and to assist Students and their parents in obtaining an entrance on Holy Orders by greatly diminishing the amount of the necessary expenditure.

REGULATIONS.

The following Resolutions have been drawn up and adopted:—

I.—That the Theological Department be open to three descriptions of Students. 1st, to those who have taken degrees at Cambridge and Oxford. 2nd, to those who have been educated in the Arts Department of this College, and have taken the Degree of B.A. 3rd, to Students, called Literati, who are especially recommended by the Bishop of the Diocese, and by other Bishops of the Church of England.

II.—That Students in the Theological Department be expected to have attained the age of twenty one years.

III.—That the system of Preparation for Holy Orders do embrace a two years course of Theological Instruction.

IV.—That the Students be provided each with a furnished room.

V.—That Commons be provided for the Students in a Hall appropriated to that purpose.

VI.—That the affairs of this Department be under the management of the same Committee of Council that regulates the Department of General Literature.

VII.—That to the Professor of Pastoral Theology be entrusted the Tutelary care of the Students in this Department.

VIII.—That the said Professor shall have for that purpose furnished rooms provided for him in College, and that he be expected to preside at all meals in Hall.

IX.—That the courses of Theological Lectures be determined upon by the Warden and the Professor of Pastoral Theology, with the sanction of the Bishop of the Diocese, whose opinion and wishes are at all times to be consulted with deference.

X.—That the expenses of this Department be as follows:—

COLLEGIATE EXPENCES.

For Commons, Room, and attendance	...	...	...	£50	0	0
Fee for Library, Hall, and Lecture Room	...	...	...	5	0	0
Fee for Theological Lectures	...	...	...	10	0	0

Out Students are admitted to this Department residing in lodgings approved of by the Committee of Council. They will be required to attend Morning Prayers daily, and the College Chapel Morning and Afternoon on Sundays, and the stated course of Theological Lectures and Examinations, and will be subject to the general surveillance of the Professor of Pastoral Theology.

College Fee for Out Students	...	...	...	...	£5	0	0
Theological Lectures	...	...	...	...	10	0	0

FELLOWSHIPS, SCHOLARSHIPS, AND PRIZES.

FELLOWSHIPS.—Such Members of the College as hold a diploma in medicine or surgery, or who are graduates in medicine, law, or arts, or such Members of the late Birmingham Royal School of Medicine and Surgery as the Council may determine, are eligible to be "Fellows."

PRIVILEGES OF FELLOWS.—The Fellows have power to vote at all Meetings of the Governors, have free admission to the medical and general Library, to the Museums, and to the Lectures; and, likewise are privileged to dine in the College Hall, on the payment of a specified sum.

THE WARNEFORD SCHOLARSHIPS.—Four Scholarships have been founded by the Rev. Dr. WARNEFORD, of £10 each, to be held for two years; to be conferred upon the Students who have resided in the College at least twelve months, who have been distinguished for their diligence and good conduct, who have been regular in their attendance on divine service, and who have availed themselves especially of the religious instruction of the Warden.

THE WARNEFORD GOLD MEDALS.—The Interest of £1000 is applied for the Institution of two Prizes, either in equal or unequal amounts. The essays written for these Prizes to be of a religious as well as scientific nature; the subject to be taken out of any branch of Anatomical, Physiological, or Pathological Science, and to be handled in a practical or professional manner, and according to the evidences of facts and phenomena which Anatomy, Physiology, and Pathology, so abundantly supply; but always and especially with a view to exemplify or set forth, by instance and example, the Wisdom, Power, and Goodness of God, as revealed and declared in Holy Writ.

TWO GOLD MEDALS are offered by the Governors of the College for regularity of attendance at Lectures and examinations, and good conduct during three years.

SILVER MEDALS are annually given by each Professor, on a Public Examination, for proficiency in the respective departments of Medical Science.

CERTIFICATE OF HONOUR.—Students who may, after Examination, be placed by the Professor next to the Medallist, will receive a Certificate of Honour.

UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS.—Students of the College are admitted to Examination for the Scholarships, Exhibitions, Gold Medals, and Books, offered by the Senate of the University of London. Students are also eligible to contend for the Commission in the Army, offered to the Senate of the University by the Army Medical Department once in every two years, for one of its most distinguished Bachelors of Medicine.

STUDENTSHIPS, &c., OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS. Students are eligible to offer themselves for the Studentship of the Royal College of

Directors of the East India Company, have placed the appointment of an Assistant Surgeon at the disposal of the President and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons once in three years, for such Students as may be considered worthy of these honourable destinations.

MUSEUMS AND LIBRARY.

MUSEUMS.—Connected with the College are Museums of Human, Comparative, and Pathological Anatomy containing upwards of three thousand preparations, and Natural History, in all its branches, to which the Student will be admitted daily.

LIBRARY.—The Library contains upwards of Two Thousand Volumes; and the quarterly, monthly, and weekly periodicals of Medicine and Surgery and General Science, upon the Table.

For further information in the respective Departments, application may be made to the Rev. the Warden, No. 8, Crescent, to the Rev. the Senior Classical Tutor, Queen's College, Paradise Street, to the Rev. the Senior Mathematical Tutor, Queen's College, Crescent, or to the Dean of the Faculty, 24, Temple-row. All Fees are to be paid to the Deputy Treasurer, J. B. Davies, Esq., M.D., 24, Newhall Street.

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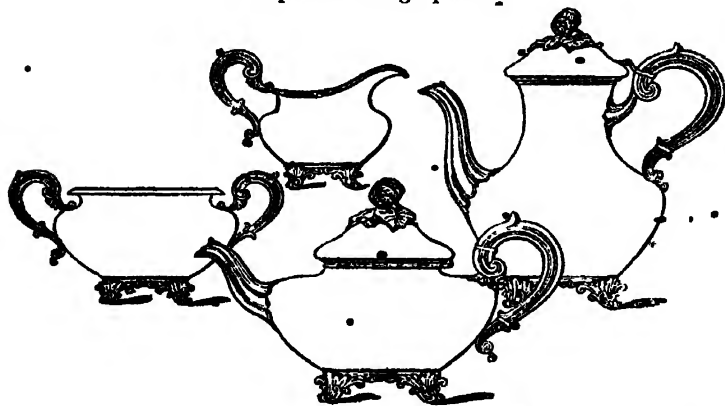
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ERRATUM.

At p. 220, line 10, of a small part of our impression, *for* 'in the ordinary daily service,' *read* 'in any but the specified services.'



THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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3. *The Gardener's Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette.* (Weekly.) Edited by Professor Lindley. 10 vols. 1841—1851.
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8. *An Introduction to the Natural System of Botany.* By John Lindley. 1830.

'I NEVER had any other desire so strong and so like to covetousness as that one which I have had always—that I might be master at last of a small house and large garden, with very moderate conveniences joyned to them, and there dedicate the remainder of my life only to the culture of them and study of Nature—

*And there, with no design beyond my wall,
Whole and entire to lye
In no inactive ease and no unglorious poverty.'*

Cowley's wish is, like Pope's Universal Prayer, adapted to all sorts and conditions of men. How many hundred thousand times, in each of the nearly two hundred years since the *Epistle to John Evelyn, Esq.*, was written, has the same ardent longing been breathed by lips that pant to inhale the fresh breeze of the country, instead of the smoke-laden air of the town! *Give me but a garden!* is the aspiration sighed forth, with more or less of hope, in cities and in solitudes, by children and by their grandsires. From Punch's indication of the season when to rake mignonette-box with silver fork, pass to Leichhardt's sketch of a persevering brother in Australian exploration:—

'Mr. Phillips is rather singular in his habits; he erects his tent
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generally at a distance from the rest, under a shady tree or in a green bower of shrubs, where he makes himself as comfortable as the place will allow, by spreading branches and grass under his couch, and covering his tent with them, to keep it shady and cool, and even planting lilies in blossom (crinum) before his tent, to enjoy their sight during the short time of our stay.'—*Overland Expedition to Port Essington*, p. 237.

All this industry repeated night after night, by a weary footsore man, merely in the hope to have something like a shred of garden to look at on waking in the morning! Could there be a more touching expression of the 'hortulan' passion which, whether latent or in full action, remains, like hope, ineradicable from the human breast?—It is a natural consequence, too, that those who cannot taste the actual fruition of a garden, should take the greater delight in reading about one. But the enjoyment next below actual possession seems to be derived from writing on the topic.

'Had I not observed,' says Sir Thomas Browne, 'that purblind men have discoursed well of sight, and some, without issue, excellently of generation, I, that was never master of any considerable garden, had not attempted this subject. But the earth is the garden of nature, and each fruitful country a Paradise.'—*Garden of Cyrus*.

All the world are *Φιλοβοτανοι*, as John Ray expresses it in his 'D. D. D. Fautoribus et Amicis.' The most highly esteemed favour which the early missionaries at Tahiti could confer on the king and queen was to furnish them each, on state occasions, with a specimen of that splendid novelty the sun-flower, to be worn in their dusky bosoms. The men of St. Kilda, who went to pay their duty to their lord (Macleod) in the far southern island of Skye, could hardly proceed on their journey when approaching Dunvegan Castle, because (said they) *the trees*—such beautiful things had never been seen even in their dreams!—*the trees kept pulling them back*. Be grateful, then, you who live in country-houses, in a temperate clime; and endeavour to enjoy your Eden truly, by fencing off every unhallowed intrusion, and by the remembrance that for you and yours there grows in the midst a tree of evil as well as a tree of good!

Among the possessors of gardens there are favoured mortals who have ample means, well-stored knowledge, and intelligent industry; to whom their multitudinous band of gardeners look up for guidance, as the army regards the Duke. Such persons are horticultural lighthouses, shining on high. The gratification they derive from their pursuits must be very great indeed; but they cannot be a numerous body. They do not need any *cicerone* to point out the specialities of garden literature. Nor do they—and they do not wish to—monopolize the learning and the

the pleasures of horticulture. On the contrary, they are fountain-heads of patronage, patterns of successful practice, centres of dissemination and distribution. Without them, and even in spite of them, gardening would still be somewhat—but by no means what it actually is. To name any single individual, male or female—for some of the ladies are horticultural giantesses, even *Fellows*—would be invidious to the rest of this select advanced guard. But there is a second class, who are much to be envied, and that because they have what Dr. Watts, in his *Logic*, calls a ‘learned,’ instead of a ‘vulgar idea’ of the hobby which they ride so pleasantly. Perhaps, indeed, none derive so great an amount of enjoyment from a garden as those of the every-gentleman-his-own-gardener sort. They are spared an immense number of known nuisances, and revel in a multitude of unknown delights. To be told by the men in early spring that there is *nothing* in the garden, neither for ‘missis’ nor for ‘cook;’ and then to come in with a charming bunch of Russian violets, fragrant coltsfoot, daphne, *erica carnea*, wall-flowers, polyanthus, &c. &c. for the *cara sposa*, and a punnet of the sweetest, greenest sprouts, and the plumpest, whitest sea-kale, for the emissary of him who *did not* send meat;—to insert *manu propria* a bark-bound bud on a brittle branch, and after many months, or years, to gather therefrom a great handful of flowers or a heaping dish of fruit;—to be able to say, ‘With the sun shining in this manner, I cannot go on reading and writing, unless you lash me to my chair—give me the baskets—I will go and cut the vegetables for dinner;’—to dine with a puffy specimen of humanity, who has his pits and his pineries, and his gangs of people at nobody knows what wages, and to taste what he sets before you, and send him better next day—you keeping only the man, the boy, and *yourself*;—to see the look of thankfulness in a neighbour’s eyes, when, driving to inquire after his convalescent wife or his sinking child, you produce some horticultural dainty, which will be enjoyed and relished ‘because it comes unexpected—and *they* have nothing of the kind *just now*;’—to attack a standard rose with a head like a *plica polonica*, and leave it as orderly as a little schoolboy’s on Saturday afternoon;—to sow an infinity of seeds, and amidst the wilderness of seedlings to discover one which, if it is not, ought to be the best possible variety, the unapproachable excee-der of perfection—there is no finishing the list of luxuries.

Those delicate gentlefolks who scorn in any way to act as their own head gardener, have to compose their catalogue of ‘delightful tasks’ in quite a different type. E. G.—To fret for four or five days together, with company under your roof, over a shabby dessert;—at last, to ease your mind about it by telling

your Scottish Chief that though the grapes have been tolerable, the peaches have been poor, very different fruit from what *the house* promised when you were last in it; figs ditto; and to be answered by a remark touching the housekeeper's niece, and her tastes—the invisible girl with gooseberry eyes and her hair never out of papers, whom her aunt had your leave to ask down from London for her health. To have to say to Mrs. Uppercrust that Mr. MacForcer shall, for the present, arrange his dessert immediately before its introduction to the dining-room;—and to be told by her, in rejoinder, a story of Mr. Blanco, who wanted extra-fine fruit for some superb affair, and bought in Covent Garden Market a supply which he was told was the best that could be had, as they had just received their usual package from Mr. Blanco's gardener, who spared *no* expense. To obtain, at a reckless cost, the newest thing from Shanghai or the Himalayas, which is propagated with such difficulty that you cannot communicate it to your own sister or brother, and then, next year, to see it in plenty on the other side of the garden palings of several of MacSwill the helper's most intimate friends. To walk in well-dressed pleasure-grounds, for whose dressing you pay something handsome per annum, and to feel that you cannot do as you like there; reproached, if you cut a bouquet of roses, with having destroyed MacForcer's every chance of the prize for half a hundred dissimilar blooms at the next Horticultural show—if you take the liberty of sending off a dozen pot-plants to a lady friend, nods and winks, and whispered wonder 'how Missis will like it?' If you invade the kitchen garden, and ravage it of a few hampers full of good edibles, to be told that it is not *your* perquisite, and to receive warning. To grudge spending a sixpence on a garden almanack, or an hour in reading it, and then to perceive that the men are grinning while you proceed to utter some long-hatched criticism on their operations.

The ladies and gentlemen who undergo these pains and penalties of ignorance deserve not the slightest commiseration, for garden literature has not only for a long while been copious, but is still receiving that surplus of contributions which it is the delightful duty of the world to pour into a flourishing exchequer.

And yet the organisms, which are the subjects of gardening, are themselves of a very puzzling and ambiguous nature. 'Stones grow' (as in crystallization, stalactites, &c.), said Linnæus; 'vegetables grow and live; animals grow, live, and feel.' But several later botanists have endeavoured to demonstrate the probability that vegetables also feel. Thus, Mr. J. P. Tupper:—

'If *sensation* be imputed to plants, it may with propriety be asked, whether they are furnished with organs similar to those which are the
seat

seat of sensation in animals? Perhaps this would not be easily proved by ocular demonstration; nor, indeed, is it necessary that the *sentient* organs of *vegetables* should have the same structure, seeing that, all those other parts which they are allowed to possess in common with animals, sensibly differ in their form and character.*

And again—

‘It may be asked, in *what particular manner do vegetables feel themselves affected in consequence of any impression which they may receive?* Of this I presume it is impossible to form an idea, seeing that their sentient organs are necessarily so different from our own. But although we may not be able to form any precise idea of the particular kind of pleasure or pain of which vegetables may be susceptible, yet we can easily determine which of the two sensations a plant may experience by observing its general appearance under particular circumstances.’—*Essay on the Probability of Sensation in Vegetables*.*

Some visionaries, whom we need not follow further, have speculated on the chance which plants have of enjoying, in an ‘equal sky,’ a future state of existence. But even Dr. Darwin boldly says—‘To reason rightly on many vegetable phenomena, we shall find it necessary first to show that vegetables are in reality an inferior order of animals.’ He asserts, in words which are at least deserving of attention, that they resemble animals in having absorbent, umbilical, placental, and pulmonary vessels, arteries, glands, organs of reproduction, with muscles, nerves, and brain, or common sensorium; nay adds—

‘It is not impossible, if Spallanzani should continue his experiments, that *some beautiful productions might be generated between the vegetable and animal kingdoms, like the eastern fable of the rose and the nightingale*.’—*Phytologia*, p. 119.

Of some plants the seeds are, as far as we can perceive, living animalcules, with *voluntary* motion, till they pitch their tent upon a spot that they think will suit them; they then germinate, and change from animals to algae. Dr. Darwin opines that ‘a degree of pleasurable sensation must be supposed from the strongest analogy to attend this activity of their systems.’ We have no intention to discuss, on this occasion the flirtations, loves, and clandestine marriages of the plants.† But—abstaining from

* See also Sir J. E. Smith’s Introduction to Botany, p. 3, and Sir W. Scott’s Essay on Landscape Gardening, Quarterly Review, vol. xxxvii, p. 328. *

† For these see the Botanic Garden, a poem whose fate it is to be for the great part forgotten, and yet to furnish some of our most familiar quotations. The Loves of the Plants want variety, and the employment of Rosicrucian machinery in The Economy of Vegetation challenges a dangerous comparison with the Rape of the Lock. The work was a daring experiment at the time; and the critic ought to bear in mind a sentence from the author’s Apology:—‘Extravagant theories, in those parts of

from all delicate questions concerning the amatorial sensibility of the anthers and stigma, &c. &c.—there is one kind of consciousness which we need not hesitate to say is distinctly possessed by plants:—*they know what time of year it is*—they do not mistake September for March. In the autumn they know that winter is coming, and they make preparation for it by completing the requisite processes with *unwonted rapidity*. Early peas sown in July behave very differently afterwards from early peas sown in January, in whatever way the horticulturist may treat them. With the same altitude of the sun and length of day, at one season the cabbage forms its heart, the turnip its bulb; at another they both *will* run up to seed, as every gardener knows to his plague. There is a degree of superstitious mystery about the most lucky time for sowing^c cabbage-seed. We have been informed, as a matter of faith, and a grand arcanum, that the only propitious day in the year for Early Yorks is the 19th of July:—The old gardeners are given to planning their operations according as the moon is waning or waxing. But of this at least we feel certain; either plants have a sort of innate consciousness of season, or they are set in action by influences quite inappreciable by *our* senses. It is true we can stimulate them and partially deceive them by forcing—but how difficult is it to *retard* them beyond their appointed times!

The most defective part of Garden Literature is that which relates to the Natural Theology of vegetation—proofs of creative design in the structure, growth, and utilitarian fitness of plants. Paley, in his charming book, has a short chapter on these things, and he gives a sufficient reason why it was not a longer one: ‘I think a designed and studied mechanism to be, in general, more evident in animals than in plants; and it is unnecessary to dwell upon a weaker argument, where a stronger is at hand.’ He was wise in battling against atheism with the strongest possible weapons, and, what he had set his hand to do, to do it with all his might. But we wish some able botanist would ponder his phrase in introducing the little he does say on the other topic:—‘There are a few observations upon the vegetable kingdom which lie so directly in our way that it would be improper to pass by them without notice.’ That—beyond what the Archdeacon took as lying directly in his way—a whole treasury of unappreciated facts remains to be collected, we cannot doubt; that they are less obvious, and not demonstrable, like the articulations of the vertebrate animals, even on the dinner-table—nay, at supper a pleasant

of philosophy where our knowledge is yet imperfect, are not without their use, as they encourage the execution of laborious experiments, or the investigation of ingenious deductions, to confirm or refute them.

lecture may be delivered on the lobster and the crab—explaining the delay, but ought, in fact, to be a spur to ambitious students. Still, indications are to be met with here and there—for instance:—

* The bitter, narcotic, and acrid juices of plants are secreted by their glands for the defence of the vegetable from the depredation of insects, and of larger animals.—Opium is found in the leaf, stalk, and head of the poppy, but not in the seeds. A similar narcotic quality exists in the leaf and stem of the hyoscyamus (henbane), but not in the seeds. An acrid juice exists in husks of walnuts, and in the pellicle or skin of the kernel, but not in the lobes or nutritious part of it. *These seem to have been excluded from the seed, lest they might have been injurious to the tender organs of digestion of the embryo plant.* Other vegetables possess glands adapted to the secretion of various fluids more or less aromatic, acrid, or astringent. *All which deleterious juices seem to have been produced for the protection of the plant against its enemies,* as appears by the number of poisonous vegetables which are seen in all our hedge-bottoms and commons, as hyoscyamus, cynoglossum, jacobæa, and common nettles, which neither insects nor quadrupeds devour (?), and which are, therefore, of no known use but to themselves, and possess a safer armour in this panoply of poison than the thorns of hollies, briars, and gooseberries.—*Phytologia*, p. 86.

It is something of this kind of argument which we should like to see better illustrated. A higher purpose might have been supposed than that the wonderful secretions from the glands of many plants were merely to render distasteful, and so secure from injury, things always impassive, and often, if not ephemeral, of but semi-annual duration. But the cap-a-pie armour of the gorse is not potent to save it from being eaten; and as to the panoply of poisons, our own ancient goat—whose progeny would make a very respectable population for a newly-discovered group of islands, to the delight of the *Darwin* next touching there, after a few weeks of salt beef and pork—she holds in utter scorn Mrs. Barbauld's kind caution—

‘Do not eat the hemlock rank,
Growing on the shady bank!’—

but will take you a mouthful of narcotics—to tobacco included, if you like—and, looking you full in the face, will despatch them into her first stomach, and then search about for the next high-seasoned vegetable.

It is a pleasure to cull a few miscellaneous examples of what we mean from Sir James Smith:—

‘We can but imperfectly account for the green so universal in the herbage of plants; but we may gratefully acknowledge the beneficence of

of the Creator in clothing the earth with a colour the most pleasing and the least fatiguing to our eyes. We may be dazzled with the brilliancy of a flower-garden, but we repose at leisure on the verdure of a grove or meadow.'—p. 68.

'By an extraordinary provision of nature, in some annual species of *Mesembryanthemum*, natives of sandy deserts in Africa, the seed vessel opens only in rainy weather; otherwise the seeds might, in that country, lie long exposed before they met with sufficient moisture to vegetate.'—p. 221.

'Many curious contrivances of nature serve to bring the anthers and stigmas together. In *Gloxiosa* the style is bent, at a right angle from the very base, for this evident purpose. In *Saxifraga* and *Parnassia* the stamens lean one or two at a time over the stigma, retiring after they have shed their pollen, and giving place to others: which wonderful economy is very striking in the garden rue, *Ruta graveolens*, whose stout and firm filaments cannot be disturbed from the posture in which they may happen to be, and evince a spontaneous movement unaffected by external causes. 'But of all flowers that of the Barberry-bush is most worthy the attention of a curious physiologist. In this the six stamens, spreading moderately, are sheltered under the concave tips of the petals till some extraneous body, as the feet or trunk of an insect in search of honey, touches the inner part of each filament near the bottom. The irritability of that part is such that the filament immediately contracts there, and consequently strikes its anther, full of pollen, against the stigma. Any other part of the filament may be touched without this effect, provided no concussion be given to the whole.'—p. 264.

Two or three years back, a lively writer in a popular journal attempted to start the subject in its columns by the following little *excursus* on the *Crocus*:—

'The *Crocus* appears to me to furnish an instance of adaptation to a peculiar natural locality, which, as far as I am aware, has not hitherto been noticed in print. Gardeners know that their patches of crocuses rise to the surface in a very few years, so that you cannot rake the beds in which they grow without dragging them from their places. In old, neglected gardens, about farm-houses or untenanted manor-houses, the corms, or, in popular language, the bulbs, will probably be quite exposed, without a sprinkling of mould over them. Now, this exposure is not necessary for the health of the plant, but the contrary. It will thrive better at the depth of at least three inches. There must, therefore, be some other final cause, if any, for this gradual uprising, by the annual formation of a new corm above that of the previous spring.

'Having occasion some years ago to pass through Switzerland by the route of the Simplon, I observed a little below the village that bears that name, and of course on the Italian side of the descent, a large tract covered with crocuses. It was in the middle of May, but they were not yet in bloom. Although to this day quite ignorant of their

their size, colour, or species, I have often regretted that I did not dig some up to bring home with me. It would have been so easy; only a little pleasurable trouble. But regrets are unavailing, except as warnings to avoid, so far as depends upon ourselves, all future causes for regret.

'Spring creeps very slowly up the sides of the mountains even with a southern aspect. They had not long been uncovered from the snow, which a little higher up was thawing from day to day. The spot occupied by the crocuses was a swampy hollow of considerable extent, but I observed none on the drier hillocks around it. The swampiness was caused, not by one of those little burns so innumerable and so beautiful in mountainous countries, but by the trickling down of the water from the line of melting snow, which brought with it, from the hill-side, a small but perceptible deposit of mud. This thin layer is of course annually repeated, and a stationary bulb would in a few years be buried beyond the power of vegetation. I cannot think it fanciful to believe that the upward progress of the corms is designed to enable them to keep pace with the gradual elevation of the soil in which they are rooted.

'The narcissus, which grows wild in the south of Europe, in marshes that are from time to time inundated, also rises, though more slowly than the crocus. The garden hyacinth likewise moves upwards. The tulip and the meadow saffron (*colchicum autumnale*) appear to have the faculty of accommodating themselves at once to the most suitable depth of soil, forming an entirely new bulb above or below the old one, which is left a hollow shell; as if its whole substance had been transferred, like the honey that bees will remove from the comb in a bell glass to the hive beneath. A curious essay might be written on the locomotion of plants, by any one who chose to avail himself of the information which our great horticultural and botanical institutions render available to the industrious. Were it not for the power of rising to the surface, my unknown crocus of the Simplon would in a few years certainly be overwhelmed by the annual top-dressing; and the species affecting such situations would become extinct, for the crocus rarely seeds.' [This, *pace tanti viri*, is a slip—some species form seed freely, others scarcely ever.] 'As it is, those in the Alps may have risen yards. Some of our native orchids, by the yearly decay of one of their two bulbs, and the formation of a fresh one, on the opposite side, proceed onwards at not a slow rate. The strawberry puts on seven-leagued boots in comparison, and frequently escapes from the rich man's garden to refresh the way-side traveller. How many years would it take a new seedling strawberry to travel by runners from London to the Land's End? The raspberry mines its way to a fresh station, by a subterranean, mole-like process, blind but not unguided, and then rises unexpectedly to the light of day. The elaterium, or squirting cucumber, is furnished with a fire-engine for the dispersion of its seeds; the touch-me-not balsam scatters them like an exploded shell. Even the humblest of the race, the champignon, and many other fungi, start from

from a centre and travel outwards in circles, imitating, in their lowly way, the progress of sound and light.

‘If it be asked—Why should the Supreme Being bestow this care on the preservation of a useless, unseen Crocus, that vegetates amidst perhaps inaccessible hill tops, where there is scarcely an insect to sip its sweets, much less a human eye to admire its beauty?—we in return demand—Is it for your own merits, caviller, for your usefulness, your services to mankind, that you have been created, supported, and spared so long by the mercy of a benevolent God?’

The topic excited some little interest for the time amongst the readers of the Gardener’s Chronicle, but the thesis still awaits the deliberate handling of a master.

At the present epoch, when the horticultural societies and the great nurserymen have their active agents surveying the world ‘from China to Peru,’ the amateur gardener can hardly get on with satisfaction to himself, especially amongst his flowers, without acquiring some knowledge of botanical arrangement; and therefore, at this point of our discourse, let us give the beginner a caution not to be persuaded into the belief that the Linnæan system is altogether obsolete and good for nothing. Dr. Lindley in his Preface speaks of

‘that method of investigating the productions of the vegetable kingdom which, under the name of the Natural System, has gradually displaced more popular classifications :—well adapted indeed to captivate the superficial inquirer, but exercising so baneful an influence upon botany, as to have rendered it doubtful whether it even deserved a place among the sciences.’

With all deference to the Doctor, we might rejoin that, if the Natural System were permitted entirely to extinguish the Linnæan, botany would soon deserve a place among the *mysteries* instead of the sciences. The ‘superficial inquirer’ is the very person who wants a clear and frank-minded guide that *will* show him what he wants, instead of letting him lose himself in a boggy maze where he can find no firm footing. It is, doubtless, convenient to be able to send a box of plants to be named by a practised adept in the Natural System; but it is more independent to be able to do it one’s self on the Linnæan. The Natural System, as a mode of identifying plants, puts us in mind of the *curiosa Latinitas* of the prescriptions of our medical men; it is an excellent contrivance for fencing off the profane vulgar. The apprentice *shall* be bound for seven long years, or he shall not be admitted into the craft at all. But middle-aged people begin to estimate the comparative lengths of life and of art; and if they set out on any fresh scientific journey, or perhaps mere excursion, they wish to find themselves on a smooth turnpike, with low hedges, over which

which they can have a pleasant view of the country, not in a tangled labyrinth, wherein, after running about for half the day, they end by having seen just nothing at all. In truth that the merits of the Linnæan system are great, will appear even from the words of Dr. Lindley himself in the very same Preface :—

‘Linnæus in 1731 invented a system depending on variations in the sexual organs. *This method has enjoyed a degree of celebrity which has rarely fallen to the lot of human contrivances, chiefly on account of its clearness and simplicity*; and in its day it undoubtedly effected its full proportion of good.’

He adds indeed—but we can by no means adopt the mere theory announced—

‘Linnæus probably intended it as a mere substitute for the Natural System, for which he found the world in his day unprepared, to be relinquished as soon as the principles of the latter could be settled; as seems obvious from his writings, in which he calls the Natural System *primum et ultimum in botanicis desideratum*. He could scarcely have expected that his artificial method should exist when the science had made sufficient progress to enable botanists to revert to the principles of natural arrangement, *the temporary abandonment of which had been solely caused by the difficulty of defining its groups*. This difficulty no longer exists.’

The difficulty of definition may be surmounted; but the difficulty of remembering those definitions, *so as to use them as a botanical alphabet*, is sorely increased. We defy any amateur—who must be content to have either a ‘superficial’ knowledge of botany, or none at all—we defy him, stout-hearted though he may be, not to feel depressed on glancing through Dr. Lindley’s *Analysis of the Orders*—only 262 of them in the edition of 1830—and they being the *alphabet of one Class of the Natural System*! On meeting with any plant which presents to his eye a decidedly novel aspect, he will be hard pressed to know to which of the *-aceæ*, *-iferaæ*, *-inææ*, *-ideæ*, or other *-æ*, he is to refer it, and will at last fall back on the aid (most patiently and promptly rendered) of the editor of the *Gardener’s Chronicle*. But if his unknown specimen be a British native, and he happens to have a copy of the *English Botany* within reach, how happy will he be to dissect his new-found flower, determine its *Class* and *Order*, and in five minutes pitch upon the very thing itself!

In the Natural System it is an apparently simple arrangement, but a real cause of confusion, to divide the whole Flora of the world into two Classes only, i.e., I. Vascularæ, or flowering plants, and II. Cellulares, or flowerless plants;—and then to subdivide Class I. into 262 Orders—with the anatomical and constitutional peculiarities of all of which the student has to make himself

himself familiar before he can begin to enjoy the pleasure of investigating for himself. Of course, these remarks will be understood to apply solely to the use of the Natural System as a *key* and an *index* to botanical knowledge. To the study of vegetable physiology and the natural affinities of plants, it is not merely useful, but necessary. Still it is the *ultimum* rather than the *primum in botanica*. Through Linnæus we know plants more readily; even if through Jussieu we understand them more thoroughly. By the one mode we make their acquaintance; by the other our acquaintance is converted into intimacy. The English student is advised to begin with Sir James Smith's works and end with Dr. Lindley's. The Knight should preside over the catalogue, the Professor over the herbarium.

As a specimen of *memoria technica*, nothing easier to carry about with one than the Linnæan Classes, whether we retain his original 24 or consent to reduce them to 22—as the reader will find by the rapidity with which the artificial memory can be refreshed after years of disuse. But fancy—not a Robert Fortune—but a 'superficial' let loose in some undiscovered nursery-ground in the north of China; what a clear account he will give of the things he sees there, if he be allowed to make no use of Linnæus or Sir James, and even do happen to have a Natural System in his pocket! Besides, he *may* stumble on a plant which may belong to a new Order: what is he to do then? Before he is justified in making a new Order he must have thoroughly compared his plant with the characters of all the others—not an easy task to execute off-hand.

One very common objection to the Linnæan System—we mean that grounded upon the exceptions and the anomalies which arise in the course of its application—is to our mind a merit; for the fact indicates, beyond mistake, that the plan is an artificial one, for convenience sake, and not an attempt to explain the scheme of creation. And exceptions confirm a rule, in the memory at least. A diandrous grass fixes itself on the attention. No person of common sense would suppose that it is not a grass because it does not happen to grow in the field Triandria. It assists us in remembering the rushes to find the bog-rush, *Scheenus*, and the club-rush, *Scirpus*, in Triandria, instead of with the rest of their friends in Hexandria.

The intending beginner shall himself judge by which method he is likely to make the fastest progress at the outset. We will suppose that he is investigating the not very easy genus *Juncus*, or *Rush*. He meets with a specimen in flower, and soon determines its Linnæan Class and Order. Referring to the *English Botany* of Smith, he finds at once—

'*Juncus*

' *Juncus acutus*. Great Sea Rush. *Hexandria Monogynia*. **GENERIC CHARACTER.**—*Calyx* of 6 leaves, permanent. *Corolla*, none. *Capsule*, superior, of 3 valves, with 1 or 3 cells. *Seeds*, several. *Stigmas*, 3. **SPECIFIC CHARACTER.**—Stem round, naked. Panicle, terminal. General involucre of two spinous leaves. Capsules, roundish, pointed.'

But in the *Natural System* of Lindley, he stumbles upon—it must be by guess or chance—

' Order CCXLIV.—**JUNCÆE**. The Rush tribe.

DIAGNOSIS.—Hexapetaloidous herbaceous monocotyledons, with a superior ovary, a half-glumaceous regular perianthium, a pale soft testa, a single style, capsular fruit, and an embryo next the hilum.

ANOMALIES.—Flowers sometimes scarcely glumaceous.

ESSENTIAL CHARACTER.—*Flowers* hermaphrodite or unisexual. *Calyx* and *corolla* forming an inferior, 6-parted, more or less glumaceous *perianthium*. *Stamens* 6, inserted into the base of the segments; sometimes 3, and then opposite the calyx. *Anthers*, 2 celled. *Ovary*, 1 or 3 celled, 1 or many seeded, or 1-celled and 3-seeded. *Style* 1. *Stigmas*, generally 3, sometimes only 1. *Fruit*, capsular, with 3 valves, which have the dissepiment in their middle; sometimes destitute of valves, and 1-seeded by abortion. *Seeds* with a testa, which is neither black nor crustaceous; *albumen*, firm, fleshy, or cartilaginous; *embryo* within it. *R. Br.* (1810)—*Herbaceous* plants, with fasciated or fibrous roots. *Leaves*, fistular, or flat and channelled, with parallel veins. *Inflorescence*, often more or less capitate. *Flowers*, generally brown or green.'

To take another case, where there can be no difficulty in guessing the Natural Order to which the specimen belongs, the reader is advised to compare the generic and specific characters of the *Malva sylvestris*, or common mallow (*Monadelphia polyandria*), of Sir James Smith, with the diagnosis, anomalies, and essential character of the *Malvaceæ*, or mallow tribe, of the *Natural System*.

These two systems, we repeat, are not inconsistent and antagonistic, like the corpuscular and undulatory theories of light, but may, and ought to be, made mutually to support each other. One is the dictionary, the other the grammar of the science. The Linnæan arrangement is professedly artificial; but it performs much more than it promises. Artificial systems for the discrimination of plants are one thing; and, as Sir James Smith says, 'the philosophy of botanical arrangement, or the study of the natural affinities of plants, is quite another matter. But it would be as idle, while we pursue this last-mentioned subject, so deep and so intricate that its most able cultivators are only learners, to lay aside the continual use of the Linnæan System, as it would be for philologists and logicians to slight the convenience, and indeed necessity,

necessity, of the alphabet, and to substitute the Chinese character in its stead.*

Amidst our old school of Garden Literature the name of Evelyn marks quite an epoch. His *Kalendarium Hortense*, or *Gardener's Almanack*, set the pattern for a multitude of similar productions, and may even yet be referred to as a useful reminder. His 'plant potatoes in your worst ground' is what we are obliged to come to after all. It is now the fashion to resuscitate from long forgotten seed-drawers many of his plants that had been shelved for years, as chervil and basil: and attempts are being made to render others more popular, as orache and lamb-lettuce or corn-salad.† Purslane, we hope, will follow in the list of revivals; in Germany it is still in great request for spring soups. Ourselves, long baffled in an attempt to raise a crop of skirrets from seed, found in him the wrinkle which a host of gardeners had failed to supply: 'March. Sow skirrets in rich, mellow, fresh earth, and moist; and when about a finger long, plant but one single root in a hole, at a foot distance.'—His New Conservatory or Greenhouse was the beginning of a series of results which it would be very long to relate. His translation of the 'Compleat Gardener, by M. de la Quintinye, chief-director of all the gardens of the French King,' which, when 'made English,' he believes to be 'first and best of that kind that introduced the use of the Olitorie garden to any purpose,' must have had its effects; as also his 'Acetaria, or Discourse of Sallets'—proving (even although pickles are included in the term‡), that a more varied and artistical *sallet* could be served two hundred years back than now, and that our only mode of advancement in this line is to revive old fashions. Where is our list of 'sallet-plants reduced to a competent number, not exceeding thirty-five?' We may be inclined to refuse the sow-thistle, so 'exceedingly welcome to the late Morocco ambassador;' but such a thing as a good salad is now never dished in England, if there be truth in the proverb—

'L' insalata non è buon, ne bella,
Ove non è la pimpinella.'

This pimpernel is our common 'burnet; 'but,' says Evelyn, 'a fresh sprig in wine recommends it to us as its most genuine element'—which may well account for its being 'of so cheering

* 'The French call them *salade de prétre*, from their being generally eaten in Lent.'—*Evelyn*. They certainly deserve a place among the penitential herbs: The stomach that has admitted them is apt to cry *peccavi*.

† *Melon*.—The abortive and after-fruit of melons, being pickled as cucumber, make an excellent *sallet*. *Potato*.—The small green fruit (when about the size of the wild cherry) being pickled, is an agreeable *sallet*.

and exhilarating a quality.' 'Sampier,' too, is cruelly neglected:—

'Not only pickled, but crude and cold, when young and tender (and such as we may cultivate and have in our kitchen-gardens almost the year round), it is, in my opinion, for its aromatic and other excellent virtues and effects against the spleen, cleansing the passages, sharpening appetite, &c., so far preferable to most of our hotter herbs and salad ingredients that I have often wondered it has not been long since propagated in the potagere, as it is in France, from whence I have frequently receiv'd the seeds, which have prosper'd better and more kindly with me than what comes from our own coasts. It does not indeed pickle so well, as being of a more tender stalk and leaf, but, in all other respects, for composing sallets it has nothing like it.'

We are all acquainted with

'One that gathers samphire'

half-way down the face of Dover cliff; but how many of our readers know the taste of 'the produce of that 'dreadful trade'? The samphire business now-a-days must be a small concern. One or two species of glasswort are sold and pickled in Norfolk by the style and title of samphire, but are as false a substitution as was the fair maid who listed 'under the name of Richard Carr.' The pickled *Salicornias* taste of nothing but the vinegar and the spices, and altogether differ from that classic umbellifer the *Crithmum maritimum*.

Were it not unfair to disturb the repose of so good a man, one would almost wish to raise the ghost of Evelyn to solve a great difficulty of modern times—what is *the* mode of dressing *sallet*? Family quarrels have arisen on the subject; the salad-bowl may yet lead to divorces *à mensâ*. With us, an early recollection is simple lettuce shred tolerably fine, just moistened all over with vinegar, and dusted with sugar; a preparation to be tried by those hitherto ignorant of it. A mode that has been dogmatically insisted on, as the only orthodox one, is to wipe each leaf of lettuce (which is alone admissible) dry; then to bring the oil in contact with every part of the surface, finishing with the least dash of vinegar and sprinkle of salt. This would be the order of the day—*pure and simple*. A favourite Parisian top-dressing is to place a little flock of fresh-water crayfish on the summit of the verdant mass; an appropriate garnish for fish salads, and, with us, imitable by shrimps and prawns when crayfish are not. The azure and blue flowers of borage, and the orange and brown ones of nasturtium, are grateful to two senses at least; but it is not easy to have them fresh on a London sideboard. Faded, they are as bad as the flowers out of Madam's last summer's bonnet. Dr. Kitchener's cooked salad, strewn over with a stratum of uncooked, deserves

deserves a serious and unprejudiced consideration. Tarragon vinegar, or anything else which must predominate, we hold to be heretical. Salad is good society; whatever is obtrusive must be excluded. Therefore we think that the quality of the oil is not criticised with sufficient strictness: if it has the least twang, it predominates over everything, and you continue to taste it after it should have been long forgotten.

At this juncture our readers will thank us for producing (by permission courteously granted) a 'Receipt for a Winter Salad,' written many years ago at Castle Howard by the late Mr. Sydney Smith. He so rarely (after school-days) used his admirable talent for versification, that this specimen of it would be valued, even although the Prescription were not—what it certainly is—in itself an excellent one:—

Two large potatoes, passed through kitchen sieve,
Unwonted softness to the salad give.
Of mordent mustard add a single spoon—
Distrust the condiment which bites so soon;
But deem it not, thou man of herbs, a fault
To add a double quantity of salt.
Three times the spoon with oil of Lucca crown,
And once with vinegar, procured from town.
True flavour needs it, and your poet begs
The pounded yellow of two well-boiled eggs.
Let onion atoms lurk within the bowl,
And, scarce suspected, animate the whole;
And lastly, on the flavoured compound toss
A magic teaspoon of anchovy sauce.
Then, though green turtle fail, though venison's tough,
And ham and turkey are not boiled enough,
Serenely full, the Epicure may say—
Fate cannot harm me—I have dined to-day!

To return to Mr. Evelyn—while he gave a helping hand to rational improvement, the amiable senior cautiously avoided horticultural quackeries:—

March.—Sow stock gillyflowers in the full of the moon, to produce double flowers. In the meantime, let gentlemen and ladies who are curious trust little by *manganisme*,* insuccations, or medecine, to alter the species, or indeed the forms and shapes of flowers considerably, that is, to render that double which nature produces but single,* &c.—*Kalendarium*.

Evelyn moreover is valuable by helping us to mark the introduction of several of our cultivated vegetables. Of '*Artichaux*,'

* '*Manganizo*, to polish, paint, and trim up a thing to make it sell better.'—*Atterworth*.

he tells us (*Acetaria*): 'Tis not very long since this noble thistle came first into Italy, improv'd to this magnitude by culture, and so rare in England that they were commonly sold for crowns a piece; but what Carthage yearly spent in them—as Pliny computes the sum—amounted to *sestertiâ sena millium*—30,000*l.* sterling. Note that of the *Spanish cardon*—a wild and smaller *artichok*, with sharp-pointed leaves and lesser head—the stalks, being blanched and tender, are serv'd up à la *poivrade* (that is, with oyl, pepper, &c.), as the French term is. Of 'Pompey's beloved dish, so highly celebrated by old Cato' he says: 'Tis scarce an hundred years since we first had Cabbages out of Holland; Sir Anthony Ashley, of Wiburg St. Giles, in Dorsetshire (ancestor of the Earls of Shaftesbury), being—as I am told—the first who planted them in England.' Of the melon he bids us 'Note, that this fruit was very rarely cultivated in England, so as to bring it to maturity, till Sir George Gardner came out of Spain; I myself remembering when an ordinary melon would have been sold for *five or six shillings*.' Spinach was 'by original a Spaniard.' Tarragon also 'of Spanish extraction;' and 'the cauliflower (anciently unknown) from Aleppo.'

Some of our garden esculents are of high antiquity; asparagus was a favourite vegetable with Cato, and onions are inscrutable. Others are quite modern upstarts. Sea-kale is one of these—by the present mode of producing it. And a truly British dish it is. On many parts of the south coast the inhabitants, from time immemorial, have been in the habit of searching for it in the spring where it grows spontaneously, and cutting off the young and tender leaves and stalks, as yet unexpanded and in a blanched state, close to the crown of the root. Evelyn, confounding it with 'the broccoli from Naples, perhaps the *halmerida* of Pliny'—[or Athenæus rather]—'*capitata marina et florida*,' mentions that 'our sea-keele, the ancient *crambe*, and growing on our coast, are very delicate.' But its cultivation is a recent practice. Mr. Curtis, in his *Directions for Cultivating the Crambe maritima or Sea-kale* (1799), tells us,—

'Mr. William Jones, of Chelsea, saw bundles of it, in a cultivated state, exposed for sale in Chichester market, in the year 1753. I learn from different persons that attempts have been made at various times to introduce it to the London markets, but ineffectually. A few years since I renewed the attempt myself, and though it was not attended with all the success I could have wished, I flatter myself it has been the means of making the plant so generally known that in future the markets of the first city in the world will be duly supplied with this most desirable article.'

Rhubarb affords the latest instance of the intrusion and establishment

lishment of strange herbage in our kitchen-gardens. Mr. Cuthill, the well-known horticulturist of Camberwell, with a praiseworthy feeling of respect for a senior brother of the craft, records in his *Practical Instructions for the Cultivation of the Potato, &c. &c.* (1850), that—

‘Mr. Joseph Myatt of Deptford, a most benevolent man now upwards of seventy years of age, was the first to cultivate rhubarb on a large scale. It is now nearly forty years since he sent his two sons to the Borough market with *five bunches—of which they could only sell three*. The next time they took ten bunches, all of which were sold. *Coming events cast their shadow before*, and from the small but increased sale Mr. Myatt judged that rhubarb would become a favourite. He therefore determined to increase its cultivation, and year after year added to his stock. For his first dozen roots he was indebted to his friend Mr. Oldacre, gardener to Sir Joseph Banks. They consisted of a kind imported from Russia, finer and much earlier than the puny variety cultivated by the Brentwood growers for Covent Garden. Mr. Myatt had to contend against many prejudices; but time, that universal leveller, overcame and broke down every barrier, and rhubarb is now no longer called *physic*.’

The foot-stalks of the physic-plant are now regarded as a necessary rather than a luxury in culinary management. The most frugal table can display its rhubarb pudding or tart, in season. The dainty has been published at a different rate from the pineapple—another bit of a *parvenu* amongst the respectable fruit families. In a copy of the *Hortus Medicus Amstelodamus*, now by favour at hand, on the plate *Ananas* is entered the following MS. note by P. Collinson—the eminent F.R.S.:—‘St Matthew Decker first brought the Ananas or Pine Apple into England to his Garden at Richmond, where I saw them about the year 1712.’ In the Horticultural Transactions, vol. i. (p. 150), we read:—

‘Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, on her journey to Constantinople, in the year 1716, remarks the circumstance of pine-apples being served up in the dessert at the Electoral table at Hanover as a thing she had never before seen or heard of. ‘Had pines been then grown in England, her ladyship could not have been ignorant of the fact.’

It would be almost presumptuous in us to offer any attestation of the great value of these Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London. To mention merely a few of many remarkable elderly papers—the ‘Account of a new Strawberry, with a coloured Figure, by Michael Keens [N.B. not *Keen*], Gardener of Isleworth;’ ‘An Account of Two Varieties of Cherry, raised at Downton Castle;’ ‘Notes relative to the first Appearance of the *Aphis Lanigera* or Apple-Tree Insect in this Country,’ &c., &c., are now important portions of horticultural history.

Of the multitudes who pass through Covent-garden Market

six days out of seven, the great majority certainly are unaware of the time and trouble that many common esculents have cost the gardener. Perpend, for example, the almost twelvemonths' occupance of his soil by the best varieties of broccoli—which the vulgar are constantly confounding with cauliflowers.

' When the bright Bull ascending first adorns
The Spring's fair forehead with his golden horns,
Italian seeds with parsimonious hand
The watchful gardener scatters o'er his land ;
Quick moves the rake, with iron teeth divides
The yielding glebe, the living treasure hides ;
O'er the smooth soil, with horrent thorns beset,
Swells in the breeze the undulating net ;
Bright shells and feathers dance on twisting strings,
And the scared finch retreats on rapid wings.

' But when three leaves the young aspirer shoots,
To other soils transplant the shortened roots ;
There in wide ranks thy verdant realms divide,
Parting each opening file a martial stride.

' When leads the Spring amid her budding groves
The laughing Graces and the quivered Loves,
Again the Bull shall shake his radiant hair
O'er the rich product of his early care ;
With hanging lip and longing eye shall move,
And Envy dwell in yon blue fields above.

' Oft in each month, poetic Tighe ! be thine.
To dish *green* broccoli with savoury chine ;
Oft down thy tuneful throat be thine to cram
The snow-white cauliflower with fowl and ham !
Nor envy thou, with such rich viands blest,
The pye of Perigord, or swallow's nest.'—*Phytologia*, p. 560.

The knowing Doctor shows his taste in lauding the *green* broccoli, despised as they are by cooks because they do not dish so prettily as the white. We wish we had space either for verse or prose that might let the reader into the secret of growing sea-kale without the expense of pots and forcing, and of better flavour than with those aids ; but the *carte* of our course of vegetables must be limited. Otherwise there were no less temptation to enlarge on leeks and cabbols ; ' hot,' says Evelyn, ' and of vertue prolifick ; since Latona, the mother of Apollo, long'd after them.' He adds—' the Welch, who eat them much, are observ'd to be very fruitful.' It is not, however, recorded that Ancient Pistol became the parent of a family of Revolvers in consequence of his compulsory feast during ' the Gallia wars.'

For these, and a host of other things, we must refer to Loudon's *Encyclopædia of Gardening*—a most useful compendium—if we may call so bulky a book a *compendium*, which, however, it truly is. But for a weekly supply of varied information the *Gardener's Chronicle* takes the lead. Dr. Lindley's name is a sufficient guarantee for its merits—but, if more be asked for, observe the free use made of it by second-chop publications. An amusing and sometimes a valuable portion of the paper is the 'Home Correspondence'—a sort of committee of the whole house of readers, with the editor in the chair. Experiences, hopes, discoveries, crotchets, are herein detailed and discussed—the more modest *virtuosi* adopting such veils as X. Y. Z. or P. Q. R. (They are all above L. S. D.) Curious pseudonyms are sometimes concocted;—one lynx-eyed fellow calls himself *Argo*, disturbing the memory of the lady who signed *Ignoramus*, and the Bill of a certain veteran patriot for the better regulation of *Omnibuses*—but these are welcome plums, to save us from eating too much plain pudding. There is always enough of solid matter, a sufficiency of *pièces de résistance*, to ballast the trifle and the bonbon crackers.

As to the *Cottage Gardener*, its contents are more suitable for a double-coach-housed 'cottage of gentility'—than for that usually tenanted by the labourer. But the only fault in this is, that an unnecessarily humble title has been assumed. The genuine cottager would hardly spend 3d. per week upon garden *literature*, whatever he might on seeds and plants; and his landlord or his rector will probably have given or lent him Paxton's *Calendar*, or some other of the many useful elementary books that are to be had. It is desirable that the labourer should take an interest in, and see, the higher operations of the art; he will perform the lower ones all the better for the apprenticeship. Though he be likely never to have a vinery and a pinery of his own to attend to, an initiation into their mysteries will help him to treat his children with a plateful of early radishes, and his wife with a dish of out-door grapes; and if she has the self-denial to turn them into money, instead of eating them, she will esteem him and them none the less for that. We have observed in the gardens of those labourers whose opportunities are above the average of their class, most pleasing evidence of the knowledge they have thus acquired. Just as a course of mathematics at Cambridge would make a man all the more valuable as an accountant or a clerk, so, to the horticultural graduate,

* The same patriarch who, when some graceless Tories laughed at a statement of his, said, 'honourable members in white waistcoats might be as merry as they chose, but he was speaking *seriatim*.'

digging is his dynamics, planting his statics, forced cucumbers and kidney-beans his theory of heat and light—Chinese Nymphæas and American Victorias with their hotwater apparatus and the fountain are his hydrostatics—and the beds of seedlings, perhaps, may be his differential calculus, when he finds how differently they turn out from what he had calculated on!

The amateur who, happening to have a sufficiency of land attached to his residence, chooses himself to take the command of two or three labourers, instead of employing a trained professional at a high salary — (*wages* might be offensive)—is of compulsion the most assiduous student of garden literature. His practice will be adapted to various ends, according as utility or ornament is the object the more desirable in his state of affairs. But his horticulture is mostly of the composite order; he cultivates a garden of all-work. As the celebrated cobbler 'lived in a stall—that served him for parlour and kitchen and all,' so the independent manager arranges a plot of ground so as to comprise the conveniences of orchard, kitchen-garden, shrubbery, parterre, and terrace. And a capital school it is for the men and boys who are wise enough to look after instruction while working in it. How well, too, an avenue of standard perpetual roses harmonises with the line of a feathery asparagus bed! How little there is to displease in a rectangular strawberry-ground enclosed in a frame-work of brilliant low-growing flowers, with an outer fillet of box, having openings left, like the gates of a Roman camp, for the approach of the workmen and the fruit-gatherers! What pleasant strolls may be taken in a wilderness of apple, bullace, cherry, plum, filbert, and medlar-trees, with an underwood of the periwinkles great and small, honesty, and primroses, and with one path at least skirting the edge of the fish-pond, from which a pike for dinner may always be had! His visitors enjoy the combination as much as himself. He asks a city friend which he will have put into his carriage—a basket of flowers or a hamper of vegetables;—and the answer is, 'Both!' To make it perfect in its way, all the spare decoration he can afford to bestow upon it should tend to make it a *winter garden*.

Winter gardening has hitherto been but imperfectly worked up in England. The poet Wordsworth made this a particular study, and we regret that he has died without writing fully on it—unless indeed his MS. papers may contain such a lucubration. He used to speak with great contempt of the sums spent on conservatories, and the neglect of the English winter-garden proper. The rose-garden has been so assiduously enriched in France, and the dahlia-border here *because*, at the seasons when those flowers make their brightest display, it is the fashion for the aristocracy

to be resident in their country mansions (so called a *non manendo* we suppose): Christmas has an equal claim on their presence at the family home—and that claim is, we all know, usually complied with. If only for the ladies' sake, then, a bright and cheerful winter-garden ought to be within an easy trip of the drawing-room at every 'place' deserving such a title—nay, it ought decidedly to be within view of the breakfast-room windows.

The vast amount of money lavished on conservatories does not bring an adequate return to any but Clan MacForcer. The most expensive ones we have seen are so far from the house that they can really add very little to the luxury either of exulting proprietor or applausive guests. We admit the comfort in severe weather of such an additional *saloon*—when the arrangement justifies that designation, and when care and judgment regulate the resort to it;—but we have little more to say in the laudatory line—and a good deal *per contra*. It is the *open air* that must stimulate the languid appetite, raise the depressed spirits, and colour the faded cheek with newly-oxygenised blood. Were the Crystal Palace to be kept up in spite of rather strong pledges, and, as some prophesy, to present us by and bye with a wilderness of walks meandering through bowers of exotic bloom, it would be the most insalubrious promenade in London; the rarer and choicer the Flora, the less entitled to rivet *your* admiration, young ladies! On a sultry summer's day, fairly divided between heavy showers and scorching sunshine, you have seen a bottle of claret—or the decanter to which it ought *not* to have been transferred—or a caraffe of water from the deep well—brought into your dear papa's comfortable dining-room; before it stood long on the table, the bright glass was dim, and soon down trickled the dew-drops, running races which should reach the bottom first; well, permit us paternal reviewets to whisper that after half an hour's walk through the frosty air *you* are the cool claret-bottle, or the Caraffe of spring water, when you enter the seductive orchid-house. The dew does not run off your encasing integuments, but it *saturates* them. You might almost as wisely take a walk on the floor of the aquarium as here. If you doubt our word, go and stand before the nearest kitchen-fire, and see how you will reek and steam. What would your mamma say—what would Sir ——— or Dr. ———, who has taken such pains with you, think, if you were to spend two or three hours in the laundry during the height of the engagement on a washing-day? As you happen to have lungs and a skin, it matters not what you are looking at, as long as the atmosphere is the same—whether at the brightest of flowers or the most prismatic of soap-bubbles. No indoor promenade should tell more forcibly on the hygrometer, or indicate the dew-point

point with greater suddenness, than a common sitting-room. But in *this* arid climate, even the camellia casts off its blossom-buds. It disinherits its own lovely offspring, and rejects them with as decided a scorn, as if it had discovered that it was producing a crop of Hygeian pills instead of pure ornaments for innocent beauties. The climate of the orange, not that of the camellia, *may* do for a winter-garden. If ever our admirable Palace of Glass becomes a showy, steamy, suffocating Jardin d'Hiver, it will be a capital thing for the apothecaries; such a vigorous crop of colds, coughs, and consumptions will be raised that it will be the Walk, if not the Dance of Death, to frequent it. If all tales be true, we may anticipate *the Canter*;—but seriously, we hope never to see a comparative bill of mortality of those who take Hyde Park exercise in whatever shape within doors, and those who take it without.

November and December are not winter, either astronomically or horticulturally speaking, though they are popularly considered as an integral part of the dreary season. They often display on their damp and chilly bosom many a 'last pale blossom of the expiring year,' which we cannot calculate on as likely to be useful to *us*. The winter, for which our garden *sub Jove frigidus* is designed is the time from the solstice, St. Thomas's Day, till the moment when—if we may be pardoned for recurring to heathenish phrase—Phœbus takes the Ram by the horns, as a slight exercise for his arms previous to his tougher encounter with the Bull. After the solstice the sun is indeed getting upstairs, but *acris Hyems* grasps the reins tightly, and will generally insist on driving through the stage laid out for him. To lengthen and to strengthen are the respective performances of the daylight and the cold. The nearer we get to the conclusion of the real winter, the more is a garden felt to be an actual necessary of life.

We go to work, therefore, at once, and will fancy—or why not sketch from familiar reality?—a most 'capable' situation. A horseshoe of saddle-back hills encloses a sufficient concavity open to the full south. Of course the tops and upper slopes of the rising ground belong to the park. The summits are crowned with noble Scotch firs, genuine Highlanders—not Yankee impostors, which so much more abound, but true descendants from the glorious forests of Bræmar—and they have now put on those lovely glaucous hues at the tips of their branches which you do not see in spring or summer. Beneath them is a thicket of gorse, fast coming into bloom. We descend the heights, which are covered with velvety grass: nothing but sheep could make the turf so cushiony; and here we have some Dorset ewes hard at work preparing early lamb. Here and there are a few solitary cedars
of

of Lebanon and weeping birch-trees, the latter to look like gigantic ostrich-feathers on hoar-frosty mornings; for we do not wish to forget that it is winter, but to enjoy its beauties and its blessings. 'O, *all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever. O ye winter and summer, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.*' Is it not brilliant? The almost level rays of the sun are shot into a reverberating amphitheatre, whence they cannot escape; it is a whispering gallery for the flirtations of the sunbeams. And here is the wicket in the park paling by which we enter the sanctum from without. We are now under a thicket of laurels, and emerge again on well-kept turf, with plenty of gravel walks to go hither and thither in the bright mornings after rainy nights. But even at the edge of the laurels we have flowers:—colt's-foot of two kinds, the scentless white, and the heliotrope-scented, and the *pink* buds of that little bright blue flower which, as some people wrongly call it *Forget-me-not*, might rightly be named *Hero-f-an-again*. We descend this second shoulder of our Alpine heights, and the scene, as is right, becomes ever more genial. *Hardy* evergreens only are admissible within the boundaries of our enclosure. Everything here must carry a cheerful face under adverse circumstances. Any plant, or man, can be full of bravery in the hey-day of summer and good fortune. Our search is for whatever will make a goodly show, and even bear blossoms, in spite of the insults of the north wind and the disdainful looks of the sun. The cypress is a magnificent ornament to the gardens of the south of Europe; it is respectable in the south of England; shabby-genteel higher up the island; in the north, miserable and poverty-struck. Of course local circumstances, and especially peculiar skill and care, can modify the average effects of latitude—even within a dozen miles of Edinburgh we have lately admired some noble specimens; but wherever, in spite of a fair trial of sedulous attention, the cypress sinks below the standard of respectability, there is no wisdom in continuing the fight against Nature—the idea is to be manfully dropped. We have too often groaned over the aspect of cypresses that looked as if their owner were taking care of them against an apprehended scarcity of birch-brooms.

England, rich as she is, is annually acquiring fresh evergreen wealth. The most hopeful of these novelties come from Japan and the north of China; and it is remarkable how admirably the productions of those regions thrive in our own climate. A great loss to our winter scenery is the non-hardiness of the *Cerantia Siliqua*, or *St. John's bread*. Its masses of almost black evergreen foliage would tell well against the bright hues of our

our hill sides; and its depth of tint is ~~so~~ colourless as to harmonise well with any adjoining object. But to pine for what cannot be ours is weakness. The ilaxes are some compensation; but how they, like fig-trees that *do* bear fruit in the open air, hug the sea-shore! Near the sea, even hoary cork-trees may be grown in England. Aucubas are useful, but, from their peculiar spottiness, they do not mix well with other evergreens; they must be either solitary, or in clumps by themselves. The yew is invaluable, both in a formal and in a picturesque garden; a hedge of it may be reared into perfection within four or five years, and there is, after all, no such hedge; but when clipped it is shorn of one of its great beauties as a decorative plant—its exquisitely semi-transparent pink berries. Otherwise, it affords, though with less breadth, the dark relieving mass which the Cera-tonia would furnish so much more boldly. The good old varieties of holly ought to be held in reverential esteem. Certain long lanes in the North Riding, bordered with hollies and yews, are among the most beautiful bits of winter scenery that dwell on our recollection. Mr. Wordsworth's own grounds at Rydal, though within narrow limits, justified the beautiful lines—

- 'Those native plants,
The Holly and the Yew, endear the hours
Of Winter, and protect that pleasant place.
Imagination—not permitted here
To waste her powers, as in the Worldling's mind,
On fickle pleasures, and superfluous cares,
And trivial ostentation—is left free
And puissant to range the solemn walks
Of Time and Nature.'

A garden of evergreens, with the shades nicely graduated, particularly when the distance harmonises well, may be arranged to have the ideal character of one of Martin's or Danby's imaginative landscapes.

Observe that arbutus, fruit, flowers, and foliage, all courting approval at once; the dwarf clumps of laurustinus sparkling in the breeze; and the rosemary, fragrant dew of the sea:—'that's for remembrance—pray you, love, remember.' We gathered twigs of that, and of the bitter rue yonder, when little — died. 'There's rue for you, and here's some for me.' Pardon the mention of the circumstance, but life and death equally come to mind in a winter garden.—'You may wear *your* rue with a difference.'—And here we are gay; is not this beautiful? a large bed of Erica carnea covered thence thickly with rosy blossoms! The next bed is now fading, the season is so forward; this mass of Christmas roses and green-flowered hellebore, fringed with

with what men call *winter aconite*, but gods, *the new year's gift*. This neat mosaic of bright colours is a bit of legerdemain. You have snowdrops, hepaticas, Van Thol tulips, hyacinths, crocuses, vernal squills, and a few other pretty things, all bedded on a carpet of brightest moss, and inclosed in a border of green rosettes—themselves the *Pride of London* in days of yore. The assemblage is small, select, and brilliant. Some of the coterie are slightly forced, and so plunged with their pots; and at dusk, a light wooden frame, like a Brobdignagian dish-cover, is placed over all to keep out mischief.

The next thing to display is our darling pet—the work of our own hands. In some spots among the neighbouring woods, on a black moory soil, the self-sown primroses sport into great variety of colour; hardly two are to be found alike. They pass from bright sulphur, through sad-coloured neutral tints, to orange, lilac, and vivid crimson. It was easy to have a bed filled with the proper soil, and at our leisure to search for specimens, trowel in hand, and transfer them to their final site. The mixture of a few choice plants inveigled out of cottage gardens, adds brilliancy by their more decided hues; but the best effect is obtained when the primroses are taken quite at random. There is even now (January) a pretty show, and has been since November; but in spring the green leaves will be hardly visible for the variously clouded colouring with which they are overtopped. In that sunny corner you will find violets in flower, though foliage only is to be seen; the single blue Russian, and the double pink. The patches of pulmonaria, with leaves of mottled green, and flowers changing from pink to blue, are not to be despised; and here is a charming little rarity now coming on, the double pilewort (*Ranunculus ficaria*); it has the usual gold-lacquered petals, with a centre like that of the double anemone. But there are two sorts of double anemones; those like the double pilewort, in which the stamens and pistils are converted into minute petals, and which belong to the *spring* garden—and the Kilkenny anemones, in which the number of true petals is multiplied, the parts of fructification remaining the same. These are a great help to make the winter garden gay. On a mild forenoon the bees will show you how glad they are to find them there. The wood-laurel, the *Pyrus japonica*, and wallflowers double and single, brown and yellow, are blossoming in abundance. We have accomplished something actual, instead of dreaming about impossibilities. 'Tis done!' cries Thomson; but of the rest of his exclamation not a word can be agreed to—

'dread Winter spreads / is latest glooms, *
And reigns tremendous o'er the conquer'd year.

How

How dead the vegetable kingdom lies !
 How dumb the tuneful ! Horror wide extends
 His desolate domain.'

Not so:—nothing more easy than to elicit a smile from the grimmest of the seasons. Both the red-breast and the thrush seem to enjoy the scene, and express their approval in music. The water's edge terminates our walk in this direction. Limited or artificial pieces of water never look brighter and more cheerful than in an open winter. An avenue of standard Portugal laurels—like those at Trentham, though on a modest scale—conducts us to a flight of stone steps. A glass door admits us to a conservatory—passage filled on each side with orange-trees, myrtles, cinerarias, Chinese primroses, and so on. Another glass-door is opened, and we are in the house again.

The extreme geographical limit at which horticultural practices have been carried on, is probably marked by Sir Edward Parry's cultivation of mustard and cress, 'sallets good for the scorbutic,' while exploring that most fearful of *cul de-sacs*, the North-West Passage. This was certainly venturing to a high, if not a great latitude in gardening, and deserves to be remembered as one of a thousand instances of the benevolent wisdom habitually exercised by our great sea captains. Parry's ship is the Ultima Thule of kitchen—as well as winter—gardens.

We may therefore be permitted to take a bold flight thence, and alight at once in Iceland. Here we have a country possessing no mere modern civilization, and we may suppose that horticulture has done its utmost, till Mr. Paxton erects a still grander miracle over the region of the Geysers, and that efficient boiler shall serve to grow things unseen before. At present olitory viands are the choicest of luxuries. Even in the middle of summer the inhabitants are exposed to so much snow, frost, and cold, as almost to prevent all cultivation. The *vegetarians* would have a difficulty in carrying out their dietary here. The Icelanders, at least, are not given to browsing; they are neither long-eared pachyderms nor blatant ruminants. Fish is their staff of life. The main population is ichthyophagous; rye-bread is only brought to the table of the superior class of people. Sir William Hooker says:—

'Many of the houses in the town, as well as (though more rarely) those in the country, have small gardens attached to them, fenced in with high turf walls, and generally kept neat and free from weeds. Cabbages, especially the rutabaga, turnips, and potatoes, with sometimes a few carrots, are attempted, but never arrive at any great degree of perfection. Probably the best garden, both in point of soil and situation, in the town, was that of Mr. Savignac. Here we had, in the

the month of August, good turnips about the size of an apple, and potatoes as large as the common Dutch. Radishes and turnip-radishes were very good in July and August. In other gardens, and especially out of the town, vegetation was extremely languid; and even in the month of August, when the cabbages ought to be in their best state, I was in many gardens where a half-crown piece would have covered the whole of the plant, and where potatoes and turnips came to nothing.—*Tour in Iceland*, p. 25.

These difficulties would seem enough to baffle the most expert Fairservice that Dreepdaily ever sent out. Yet, in spite of all this, to show the force of imagination, there is extant a native work of renown, entitled, *The Georgics of Iceland*!—‘a fine poem,’—attesteth the reporter! As to the realities, Sir William’s account is confirmed by a traveller of 1834:—

‘Radishes and turnip-radishes, mustard and cress, seemed to thrive, and were looking pretty well in the governor’s garden; but he bestowed much care and labour on his little piece of ground, and often took great pleasure in pointing out to me the healthy vigour of three or four plants of the mountain-ash, which (after I forget how many years’ growth) had attained to the height of about four feet, and in the possession of which he prided himself not a little, assuring me that they were in fact the only plants that deserved the name of trees within many miles around Reikiavik. The gardens I am speaking of had apparently abundance of good soil, and were all in a sheltered situation, facing the south-west; and yet, one knows not why, under such favourable circumstances, everything in them appeared to be languishing. I do not recollect that we saw a cabbage-head at all in any part of our future journey; and yet when we were at Reikiavik, the weather in August was comparatively mild (Fahrenheit’s thermometer fluctuating in the daytime from 49° to 63°), and nothing approaching to frost occurred during the short nights. *If then there be not some other circumstance adverse to the growth of a far more hardy and vigorous vegetation, I should be disposed to ascribe the want of success to mismanagement.*’—*Barrow’s Visit to Ireland*, p. 106.

There is the rub—which we would try to settle one way or another, were we converted to Whiggery and honoured by some comfortable commissionership in the icy regions. A dinner without good vegetables is an imperfect affair; still they do their best to fill the hiatus:—

‘The governor sat at the end of the table, and the Danish Prince on his right hand. The dinner was remarkably well served up, and there was a display of vegetables, poor enough, it must be admitted, but such as is seldom met with at a dinner-table in Reikiavik, and they were all the produce of the governor’s garden.’—*Ibid.*, p. 313.

‘Therefore there were no side-dishes composed of the native vegetable

vegetable productions which are occasionally prepared for food, such as angelica and scurvy-grass, besides the two or three kinds of edible Fuci. A taste of the Lichen Islandicus should have been offered to the illustrious and erudite strangers, and also a sample of the *Sol*, the *Fucus palmatus* of Linnaeus, which (according to Hooker, p. 37) is eaten 'either raw, with fish and butter, or boiled down in milk to a thick consistency, as is more common with people of property, *who mix with it, if it can be afforded, a little flour of rye.*' The dandelion, too, is among the native plants of the island, and would stop a gap, either as a salad or a spinach: we ourselves have eaten it with relish, in spite of the rebellion of the cook and some Cassandric predictions of her betters.

Contrast with this sad instance of gardening under difficulties—heat being the grand desideratum—the 'watered gardens' of the East, where everything is unmanageably luxuriant, and coolness is the point of perfection for one's dream of bliss:—

'A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed. Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits; camphire, with spikenard. Spikenard and saffron; calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense; myrrh and aloes, with all the chief spices. A fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon.'

We learn, from Mr. Kinglake, the most brilliant, and, nevertheless, we suspect, about the most accurate of recent tour-sketchers, that these scenes remain unchanged since the day of the Wise King—

'This *Holy Damascus*, this *Earthly Paradise* of the prophet, so fair to his eyes that he dared not trust himself to tarry in her blissful shades—she is a city of hidden palaces, of copses, and gardens, and fountains, and bubbling streams. The juice of her life is the gushing and ice-cold torrent that tumbles from the snowy sides of Anti-Lebanon. Close along on the river's edge, through seven sweet miles of rustling boughs and deepest shade, the city spreads out her whole length: as a man falls flat, face forward on the brook, that he may drink and drink again, so Damascus, thirsting for ever, lies down with her lips to the stream, and clings to its rushing waters.

'Wild as the nighest woodland of a deserted home in England, but without its sweet sadness, is the sumptuous garden of Damascus. Forest-trees tall and stately enough, if you could see their lofty crests, yet lead a tustling life of it below, with their branches struggling against strong numbers of bushes and wilful shrubs. The shade upon the earth is black as night. High, high above your head, and on every side all down to the ground, the thicket is hemmed in and choked up by the interlacing boughs that droop with the weight of
roses,

roses, and load the slow air with their damask breath. The rose-trees which I saw were all of the kind we call *damask*; they grow to an immense height and size. There are no other flowers. Here and there, there are patches of ground made clear from the cover, and these are either carelessly planted with some common and useful vegetable, or else are left free to the wayward ways of nature, and bear rank weeds, moist-looking and cool to your eyes, and freshening the sense with their earthy and bitter fragrance. There is a lane opened through the thicket, so broad in some places that you can pass along side by side—in some so narrow (the shrubs are for ever encroaching) that you ought, if you can, to go on the first and hold back the bough of the rose-tree. And through this wilderness there tumbles a loud rushing stream, which is halted at last in the lowest corner of the garden, and then tossed up in a fountain by the side of the simple alcove. This is all. Never for an instant will the people of Damascus attempt to separate the idea of bliss from these wild gardens and rushing waters.'—*Eöthen*, pp. 392–398.

Our panorama might be endless—beating the American monsters into nothingness; but we must hurry on, still eastward, and will next take a peep at China. We quote from the very interesting little volume of Mr. Fortune, one of the horticultural missionaries already alluded to, and, without doubt, among the most intelligent of his class:—

'The gardens of the mandarins in the city of Ning-po are very pretty; they contain a choice selection of the ornamental trees and shrubs of China, and generally a considerable number of dwarf trees. Many of the latter are really curious examples of the patience and ingenuity of this people. Some are only a few inches high, and yet seem hoary with age. Not only are they trained to represent old trees in miniature, but some are made to resemble the fashionable pagodas of the country, and others different kinds of animals, amongst which the deer seems to be the favourite. Junipers are generally chosen for the latter purpose, as they can be more readily bent into the desired form; the eyes and tongue are added afterwards—and the representation altogether is really good. When I was travelling on the hills of Hong-kong, a few days after my first arrival, I met with a most curious dwarf Lycopodium, which I dug up and carried down to Messrs. Dent's garden. *Hai-yah!* said the old compradore, and was in raptures of delight. All the coolies and servants gathered round the basket to admire this curious little plant. I had not seen them evince so much gratification since I showed them the Old Man Cactus (*Cereus senilis*), which I took out from England, and presented to a Chinese nurseryman at Canton. On asking them why they prized the Lycopodium so much, they replied, in Canton-English,—*Oh, he too muchia handsome; he grow only a leete and a leete every year; and suppose he be one hundred year ould, he only so high,—*holding up their

their hands an inch or two higher than the plant. This little plant is really very pretty, and often naturally takes the very form of a dwarf tree in miniature, which is doubtless the reason of its being such a favourite with the Chinese.'—*Wanderings in China*, p. 94.

The great point of attraction to a long-tailed gardener visiting London would be the tiny stages of dwarf succulents in miniature pots, which look as if intended to be added to the furniture of a doll's house. It is said, that certain wealthy and kindhearted persons in China buy up the koo-shoo, or dwarf trees, for the sake of liberating them, by planting them in the open ground; but that the national benevolence does not prevent the making of human koo-shoo, or monstrous dwarfs (of which the small-footed ladies are a commencing sample), to be exhibited for a horribly-earned profit.

The last kind of garden to which we shall allude is also touched upon by Mr. Fortune:—

'A very considerable portion of the land in the vicinity of Shanghai is occupied by the tombs of the dead. In all directions large conical-shaped mounds meet the eye, overgrown with long grass, and, in some instances, planted with shrubs and flowers. The flowers are simple in their kind. No expensive camellias, moutana, or other of the finer ornaments of the garden are chosen for this purpose. At Ningpo wild roses soon spread themselves over the grave, and, when their flowers expand in spring, cover it with a pure sheet of white. At Shanghai a pretty bulbous plant, a species of *Lycoris*, covers it in autumn with masses of brilliant purple. When I first discovered the *Anemone japonica*, it was in full flower amongst the graves round the ramparts. It blooms in November, when other flowers have gone by, and is most appropriate to the resting-places of the dead.'—*Ibid.*, p. 330.

With this beautiful custom prevalent amongst themselves, and with the rumour (if it has ever reached them) of the abominations practised in England, the Chinese may well assail us with contemptuous and insulting epithets. If the horrid means of disposing of the dead, which have been detected among the 'outside red-haired Barbarians' in London and elsewhere, had been found in New Zealand before the introduction of Christianity, and we had been innocent of them, we should reproach them with the foul iniquity as a worse stain on the native character than even cannibalism itself. There yet remains plenty of uncultivated space in Great Britain for gardens for the dead. What are three-fourths of the sepulchral decorations that are seen, but faint shadows of paganism? The urn is sheer nonsense among a people who do not burn their dead and have no ashes to preserve. The genius of the broken column and the extinguished torch is no emblem of hope. Sarcophagi,

phagi, in all their varieties, are inconsistent with the restitution of earth to earth. There is a beautiful legend—if in these days we may be pardoned for calling anything in this line a mere *legend*—that on the death of the Virgin, the apostles went, after a time, to remove the body, and, on opening the tomb where it had been laid, found that it was gone; but in its place appeared in full growth a thick cluster of bright and varied flowers. On this hint be it ours to speak. Let us *remove* the remains of our friends from the possibility of being a nuisance and a pollution. Let no vault, nor catacomb, nor niche, be permitted to pour forth through its chinks what must shock the sensitiveness of the most ardent affection. Let us lay what is left reverently in the earth—and above the spot let us spread a carpet of living bloom.

‘ With fairest flowers,
 Whilst summer lasts, and I live here, Fidele,
 I’ll sweeten thy sad grave: thou shalt not lack
 The flower that’s like thy face, pale primrose; nor
 The azur’d hare-bell, like thy veins; no, nor
 The leaf of eglantine, whom not to slander,
 Out-sweeten’d not thy breath.’

Give us, we say, whenever the appointed hour arrives, no other monument than a parterre six feet by two; not hung about with trumpery dyed wreaths of *éternelles* and fragile amaranths, but planted with humble, homely, low-growing favourites—the aconite and the snowdrop, to mark a resurrection from the death of winter—the violet and the lily of the valley, to join cheerfully in the sweetness of spring—the rose, to sympathise with the beauty of summer—and the Japan anemone and the chrysanthemum, to carry a smile into the failing light of autumn. So best may the corruptible body be rendered up to Nature.

The example has been set here and there—and with beautiful success. The precincts of the house of prayer being affectionately adorned and decorously respected, the house itself has been further removed from profanation—has been guarded by the smiling sadness and decent quiet of the little region around it. Let us be thankful—and hope that the good course is to be largely pursued.

- ART. II.—1. *The History of the Reformation in Scotland* by John Knox. Edited by David Laing. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh, printed for the Wodrow Society, 1848.
2. *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ; the Antiquities, Ecclesiastical and Territorial, of the Parishes of Scotland.* Edited by Cosmo Innes, Esq. Printed for the Bannatyne Club. Vol. I., 4to: Edinburgh, 1851.
3. *Inquiry into the Law and Practice in Scottish Peerages; with an Exposition of our Genuine Original Consistorial Law.* By John Riddell, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1842.

THE Wodrow Society, now deceased, deserved well of Scotland by its editions of Knox and Calderwood. Calderwood might be said to be a new work; but a correct and critical edition of Knox's History was scarcely less a desideratum. The first—printed at London by Vautrollier in 1586-7—was so full of blunders that its suppression by Whitgift is scarcely to be regretted so much as that a few copies got into circulation.* The next (London, 1644), though superintended by David Buchanan, a Scotchman, and an industrious scholar, is still worse; for it abounds in wanton alterations and even additions. As Vautrollier's had offended Elizabeth's High-Church Archbishop, Buchanan's excited the jealousy of the Puritans. It was *their* tampering with it that moved the indignation of Milton:—

'If the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his lifetime and even to this day, come to their hands for licence to be printed or reprinted; if there be found in his book one sentence of a venturous edge, uttered in the height of zeal—and who knows whether it may not be the dictate of a divine spirit?—yet not suiting with every low decrepit humour of their own;—though it were Knox himself, the reformer of a kingdom, that spake it—they will not pardon him their dash. The sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost, for the fearfulness or the presumptuous rashness of a perfunctory licenser.'—*Areopagitica*.

Such a manipulator as David Buchanan was, however, more dangerous even than a 'perfunctory licenser.' A new edition was therefore wanted, not only to furnish accurate readings, and the apparatus of illustration which modern luxury and indolence require, but to restore omissions, cut out interpolations, and place the whole on a firm footing of authority. Mr. Laing has spared no pains upon his task. The first four books may now be perused as John Knox wrote them between the years 1559 and 1566;

* Some of Vautrollier's readings are amusing. For 'William Guthrie,' he has 'within gathered' (p. 233). One of the Lollards of Kyle, 'Adam Reid of Berekimning,' he transmutes into 'Adam reade of blaspheming.' The conspirators of St. Andrews threw the keys into the 'fowsie' i.e. fossé, the castle ditch. Vautrollier substitutes *the foule sea*, &c. &c.

and the fifth is reduced to its proper grade of authority as a posthumous concoction out of his materials. The reader is saved all the trouble of referring to contemporary documents by plentiful notes, which he will not criticise severely for occasional overminuteness. Much as Mr. Laing has done, however, he is entitled to still more credit for what he has refrained from doing. With sufficient zeal for his subject, with all its learning, and with an author provocative of opposition in every line, he has not turned aside to meet the hostile multitude nor disfigured his margins with controversy.

Mr. Laing assures us that Knox was 'of all persons the best qualified to undertake the History of the Reformation in Scotland, not only from his access to the various sources of information, and his singular power and skill in narrating events and delineating characters, but also from the circumstance that he himself had no unimportant share in most of the transactions of those times.' (p. xxv.) But in this no doubt sincere opinion we cannot quite concur. Access to information on one side of affairs Knox undoubtedly had, and he was no mean master of narrative; but in all the highest qualifications of a historian he was utterly wanting. His was not the calm philosophic nature to balance counsels, to admit faults in his own party or merits in the other. The vehemence of his abuse, his hearty calling of names, destroys all trust in his fairness. It was not even an object with him to assume the virtue. Again, he did not know, or he despised, the tricks of composition. His book is inconsecutive, almost fragmentary—altogether without method. He says himself that he was regardless of times and seasons—meaning that he was not studious to state events in their right order; but he was also very indifferent as to the correctness of his quotations, and this even in the case of documents which he professed to give in full. Such ascertained licences must greatly lessen the reader's general confidence:—we are haunted by suspicion even amidst his often highly animated sketches of men and of transactions. It is not as a history, in short, that the book is valuable. It is as the outpouring of the mind of one who was a chief mover and main actor in the greatest of the revolutions that a nation can undergo. It is not every great man that is born to act history and to write it. The very qualities that fitted Knox for his mission disqualified him for setting forth to posterity the events he directed.

We cannot wonder at the ferocity of Roman Catholics against him: he earned it well at their hands; but we have always thought the vulgar censure of his violence by Protestants, ignorant and unjust. We lament as much as most the destruction
of

of venerable churches, and the total annihilation of that goodly fabric of a hierarchy, to our mind the most legitimate as well as the most seemly dress that our common Christianity can wear; but we cannot place these mischiefs in comparison with the benefit which the Great Change conferred on Scotland; and if the circumstances of the country make it probable that the only alternative was a total demolition or entire restoration, down go the pride of St. Andrews and the beauty of Melrose—let not only Prior and Abbot but even Dean and Bishop perish—rather than society stand there as it stood before the Reformation.

Knox and his coadjutors were no destroyers of churches, as we have endeavoured to show in a former number.* With paramount objects in view—compelled to speak to the passions, and in the frenzy of a strife more deadly than war—we must not marvel that they could not always restrain what Knox himself calls ‘the rascal multitude’ from the work of pillage and demolition. But we should be honest. The real enemies of ancient buildings in Scotland—whether pre-Christian relic, church, or castle—front Arthur’s Oven to Kinloss and Kildrummy—have been the successive lairds of later ‘improving’ times. To make a ‘dike’ or fill a drain, or at best to erect a staring abomination of a new mansion-house, the grey ancestral tower was triumphantly blown down with gunpowder. The mean barn built as a Kirk by the ‘heritors’ was supplied with its lintels and cornerstones from the mouldings of the little chapel where their forefathers worshipped. It is but fifty years since an Edinburgh architect employed to repair the nave of the cathedral at Brechin, still used as a parish-church, begged earnestly for leave to remove ‘that useless old tower’ which darkened a window. Reader! it is the Round Tower of Brechin, of mysterious antiquity—the connecting link of Irish and Scotch history! We believe Scotland was indebted to Lord Panmure and the late eccentric Laird of Skene for averting that disgrace.

There was no dandling into life of the Scotch Reformation, no basking in the sunshine of princely favour. The speculative tenets condemned by the Reformers were calculated to be popular, appealing to the feelings and imagination. They were upheld by an ancient hierarchy which still numbered among its servants men of sound theological learning, armed with all the weapons of the schools. Above all, they had the support of a Court which dressed by that of France, and was not indisposed to have used the argument of Charles IX. with the heretics. Against such a defensive array mere demonstration of the doctrinal errors

* See Q. R., vol. lxxxv., pp. 148, &c.

of Romanism would have been ineffectual—in fact, unheard. But every man listened when the new preachers denounced the lazy friars of the next convent, the vices of the proud sensual prelates, the whole body of the clergy living in open violation of the vows of their order. Burgher and yeoman pricked up their ears when they were told—‘These are the men who revel on the tithes, the produce of your toil, who make rich out of your forced purchase of indulgences and dispensations, who tax your marriages, your christenings, all the rites you consider needful for salvation; suck you like leeches while in health, and beset your deathbeds to extort donations; who strip orphans and widows bare, rather than *the Church* should go without her burial-dues; who live a life of riot and luxury; who debauch your wives, and take your daughters for concubines!’ ‘Those were the topics that effectively stirred the popular mind. Knox himself continually mixes and confounds the doctrines of the Church and the practice of the churchmen. Describing the effect of Patrick Hamilton’s martyrdom, he says,—

‘And so within short space many began to call in doubt that which before they held for a certain verity; insomuch that the University of St. Andrews and St. Leonard’s College, principally by the labours of Mr. Gawin Logy, and the novices of the Abbey by the superior (Wynrame), began to smell somewhat of the verity and to espy the vanity of the received superstitions. Yea, within few years after, began both black and grey friars publicly to preach *against the pride and idle life of bishops, and against the abuses of the whole ecclesiastical estate.*’—Knox, p. 36.

On the other hand, we find some of the first agitators of Reform by no means prepared to overturn the ancient faith. One of the keenest preachers against the clerical irregularities was Friar William Airth, a bold man, after Knox’s own heart, who dwells with much delight upon his sermons, and, lamenting that he remained a papist, observes, ‘But so it pleaseth God to open up the mouth of Balaam’s own ass, to cry out against the vicious lives of the clergy of that age.’ Airth was preaching at St. Andrews before all the doctors and masters of the University. The ‘theme’ of his sermon was—‘Veritie is the strongest of all things.’ His discourse was of ‘cursing’—the dread excommunication of the Church—

‘how, if it was rightly used, it was the most fearful thing upon the face of the earth, for it was the very separation of man from God. But now,’ said he, ‘the avarice of priors and the ignorance of their offices has caused it altogether to be vilipended. For the priest, whose duty and office it is to pray for the people, stands up on Sunday, and cries,—“One has lost a spurtill [a porridge-stick]; there is a flail stolen from beyond the burne; the goodwife has lost a horn-spoon.

God’s

God's malison and mine I give to them that knows of this gear and restores it not!"

To show how the people mocked their cursings, he told a 'merry tale' of some gossips over their Sunday drink, who asked in jest, 'What servant will serve a man best on least expenses?' and solved the riddle thus:—'Know ye not how the bishops and their officials serve us husbandmen? Will not they give us a letter of cursing for a plack, to last for a year, to curse all that look over our dyke? and that keeps our corn better nor the sleeping boy that will have *three shillings of fee, a shirt, and a pair of shoon in the year.*' Again, the friar—having, as Knox reports, 'declared what diligence the ancients took to try true miracles from false—' proceeded thus:—

'Now the greediness of priests not only receives false miracles, but also they cherish and fee knaves for that purpose, that their chapels may be the better renowned, and their offerings may be augmented. And thereupon are many chapels founded; as that Our Lady were mightier and that she took more pleasure in one place than another; as of late Our Lady of Carsegrange has hopped from one green hillock to another. But, honest men of Saint Andrews! if ye love your wives and your daughters, hold them at home, or else send them in honest company: for if ye knew what miracles were shown there, ye would neither thank God nor our Lady!'

'Thus' (adds Knox) 'he merrily taunted their trysts of whoredom and adultery.' Another 'bourd' in a sermon on the Abbot of Unreason could not be transferred to any modern page. 'But here follows,' says Knox, 'the most merry of all.' During the imprisonment of Sandie Furroure, Sir John Dingwall, 'according to the charity of churchmen, entertained his wife. For the which cause, at his returning, he spake more liberally of priests than they could bear, and so was he denounced to be accused of heresy and called to his answer to St. Andrews.' The man 'understood nothing of religion,' and met the charges against him with an onslaught on his judges. The first article was that he despised the Mass. His answer, 'I hear mo masses in eight days than three bishops there sitting say in a year.' Accused, secondly, of contempt of Sacraments: 'The priests,' quoth he, 'are the most common contemners of Sacraments, and especially of matrimony;' and 'that he witnessed by any of the priests there present, and named the men's wives with whom they had meddled—but especially Dingwall, who had seven years together abused his own wife and consumed his substance; adding, 'For God's sake, will ye take wives of your own, that I and others whose wives ye have abused may be revenged upon you?' Then the 'old Bishop of Aberdeen, thinking to justify himself before

before the people, said—*Carl, thou shalt not know my wife.* Alexander answered—*My lord, ye are too old; but with the grace of God I will drink with your daughter ere I depart.* And thereat was smiling of the best, and loud laughter of some; for the Bishop had a daughter married with Andrew Balfour in that same town' (pp. 36-44).

As we may not have another opportunity, let us here give a fair specimen of Knox's narrative, which, partly from the uncouth spelling—for the language is almost English—is not known in England so much as it deserves. We could not select a more characteristic passage than the picture of the tumult at Edinburgh on St. Giles's day 1558:—

'Yet would not the priests and friars cease to have that great solemnity and manifest abomination which they accustomedly had upon Saint Giles's day;—to wit, they would have that idol borne, and therefore was all preparation necessary duly made. A marmoset idol was borrowed from the Gray friars (a silver piece of James Carmichael was laid in pledge). It was fixed with iron nails upon a barrow called their *fertour*. There assembled priests, friars, canons, and rotten papists with tabours and trumpets, banners and bagpipes; and who was there to lead the ring but the Queen Regent herself with all her shavelings for honour of that feast! West about goes it, and comes down the High-street and down to the Canon-cross. The Queen Regent dined that day in Sandie Carpetyne's house, betwixt the Bows, and so, when the idol returned back again, she left it and passed in to her dinner. The hearts of the Brethren were wondrously inflamed, and, seeing such abomination so maintained, were decreed to be revenged. They were divided into several companies, whereof not one knew of another. There were some temporisers that day, who, fearing the chance to be done as it fell, laboured to stay the Brethren. But that could not be; for immediately after that the Queen was entered in the lodging, some of those that were of the enterprise drew nigh to the idol, as willing to help to bear him; and, getting the fertour upon their shoulders, began to shudder, thinking that thereby the idol should have fallen. But that was provided and prevented by the iron nails, as we have said; and so began one to cry, *Down with the idol! down with it!* and so without delay it was pulled down. Some brag made the Priests patrons at the first, but when they saw the feebleness of their God—for one took him by the heels, and, dashing his head to the causeway, left Dagon without head or hands, and said, "Fie upon thee, thou young Saint Giles, thy father would have tarried four such!"—this considered, we say, the Priests and Friars fled faster than they did at Pinkie Cleuch. There might have been seen so sudden a fray as seldom has been seen among that sort of men within this realm; for down goes the cross; off goes the surplice; round caps corner with the crowns. The Grey friars gaped; the Black friars blew; the Priests panted; for such a sudden fray came never among the generation of Antichrist

Antichrist within this realm before. By chance there lay upon a stair a merry Englishman, and seeing the discomfiture to be without blood, thought he would add some merriness to the matter, and so cried he over a stair, "Fy upon you, whoresons, why have you broken order? Down the street ye passed in array and with great mirth. Why flee ye, villains, now, without order? Turn and strike every one a stroke for the honour of his God! Fy, cowards, fy! ye shall never be judged worthy of your wages again!" But exhortations were then unprofitable, for after that Bel had broken his neck there was no comfort to his confused army.

'The Queen Regent laid up this amongst her other mementos, till that she might have seen the time proper to have revenged it. Search was made for the doers, but none could be apprehended; for the Brethren assembled themselves in such sort, in companies, singing psalms and praising God, that the proudest of the enemies were astonied.'—p. 259.

Many excellent persons, with a high estimate of the importance of an Episcopal Church, and proportional regret for the result of the Scotch Reformation, are ready to abandon the whole body of regular clergy as indefensible. They give up monk and friar, and would entrench themselves for the defence of the 'working parsons'—the secular parochial clergy with its due gradations up to the mitred successors of the Apostles. But they do not see how the matter stood. The religious houses had swallowed up the parish livings. In the course of four centuries the monks had engrossed not only the patronage of almost all the churches—they were not only legally the rectors of them, but they monopolised the vicarage dues in most cases also; and the duties, such as they were, were discharged by an outlying brother of the dominant convent, or by a poor vicar pensioner ground down to the lowest amount of maintenance and a station quite degraded. By this it came to pass that the body of rural clergy was in whole districts non-existing, in the rest inefficient and contemptible.*

How the dignitaries and heads of the seculars filled their high station it may still be not impossible to ascertain. Any candid inquirer will of course discard mere assertions and stories, except where real evidence from some unsuspected quarter corroborates or fills them up.

* On this subject the reader will find very copious details in the *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*—a work named in our present list, but which we hope to review in detail when completed. We cannot adopt some of the editor's genealogical views—but, apart from them, the unwearied industry of his research and clear arrangement of its often novel fruits well justify the late Lord Jeffrey's patronage—for the cost of the printing, &c., was that veteran critic's last contribution to the Bannatyne Club. We are glad that they have allowed extra copies to be struck off *pro bono publico*, and would fain see the example followed by all clubs of this sort whenever they are fortunate enough to produce volumes of solid worth.

Some time before the breaking out of the storm several eminent churchmen were labouring for the improvement of the lives and learning of the body. They did not see the full extent of the evil, nor suspected with what a speedy and complete retribution it was to be visited; but in their own spheres a few, both regular and secular, were anxious to raise the standard and to remove the scandal. Foremost among these were Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney and Abbot of two northern monasteries, known as the founder of libraries, the introducer of foreign schoolmasters and gardeners, the restorer of the buildings as well as of the discipline of the cloister—and Alexander Myln, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, and first President of the College of Justice instituted by James V., in imitation of the law courts of France—a rare union of the man of business and man of letters, the lawyer and reformer of learning. These and some others perceived the importance of providing better arms for resisting the new doctrines of England and Germany, and they devoted their revenues and exerted their influence for the restoration of letters. But the morals of the great ecclesiastics were beyond their reach and aim. An attempt at reformation there would have stirred up an opposition too formidable for so small a minority to cope with.

The writings of some whom they employed in the work of education give us a very pleasing impression of these reforming Churchmen, and, at the same time, carry more conviction than all the exaggerations of their enemies, of the absolute decay of instruction among the lower clergy—*literarum studium oblitteratum penitus* (*Richardini exegesis*, Paris, 1530).

One of the chief and most successful of the opponents of Knox was Ninian Wingate, a priest and *schoolmaster* of Linlithgow, whose main occupation may account for what seems stilted in his style—not objected to, however, in his own time. In his Tractate addressed to the Queen, Pastors, and Nobility (Edin. 1562)—to quote one passage out of many—he thus handles the churchmen:—

‘Your dumb doctrine in evilting ceremonies only, keeping in silence the true word of God necessary to all men’s salvation, and not resisting manifest errors, to the world is known. What part of the true religion by your slothful dominion and princely estate is not corrupted or obscured? Have not many, through lack of teachment, in mad ignorance misknown the duty which we all owe to our Lord God, and so in their perfect belief have sorely stammered? Were not the sacraments of Christ Jesus profaned by ignorants and wicked persons neither able to persuade to godliness by learning nor by living? Of the which number we confess the most part of us of the ecclesiastical state to have

have been, in our ignorant and inexperienced youth unworthily by you admitted to the ministration thereof. Were ye commanded in vain of God by the mouths of his prophets and apostles to watch attently and continually upon your flock and know diligently the same by face? Or gave the princes of the earth yearly rents (as the disciples in the beginning sold their lands and gave the prices thereof unto the apostles) to the end that every one of you might spend the same upon his dame Dalila and bastard brows? And albeit it chance oft to the infirmity of man that he fall asleep when he should most wake, and be given to pastime when he should most diligently labour—but yet, oh merciful God! what deadly sleep is this that has oppressed you, that in so great uproar, tumult, and terrible clamour, ye wake not forth of your dream! Awake! awake! we say, and put to your hand stoutly to save Peter's ship.'—Ed. 1835, pp. 5-7.

Since we have introduced Wingate to our readers, we will give also an extract from his address 'to the Calvinian preachers':—

'Ye misknow not the Monastic Life to have stood specifically in the renouncing of the world, and pleasures of the body, not only from unlesum [unlawful] whoredom, but from marriage sometime to them lesum, to the intent that they might thereby more easily wait on prayer and godly study; not refusing honest corporal exercise, by example of Saint Paul, to sustentation of their bodies. Yet—notwithstanding in our days the same was abused among many in idleness and wealthy life, and cloaked with glistening ceremonies of garments and such like, more than in true religion—*why have ye shorn away in this matter the wheat together with the tithes? Why have ye knocked down the monasteries, and principal policy of this realm, and counselled the rents thereof unjustly to be appropriated to others? Of the which monasteries every one by a godly reformation, besides a company to wait on prayer, might have been a college of godly learning, to the support of poor students.*'—*Ib.*, p. 110.

George Cone, one of the accomplished scholars whom Scotland poured forth from her unendowed colleges to seek fortune and fame on the Continent in the beginning of the seventeenth century—he also a zealous adherent of the old faith—writes in nearly the same strain:—

'Vulgus autem naturâ pigrum et iners, nec celestibus rebus idoneum, ut gravem illis serendi et metendi necessitatem fugeret, nusquam securius quam in monasteriorum claustris asyllum conspiciens, eò tanquam in montem sacrum secedebat. Quamprimum vero ex illâ hominum fæce quispiam literarum levem aliquam notitiam sibi parasset, hujus aut illius e proceribus adjutus patrocinio, nil minus quam quid sacrosancti munus esset cogitabat; sed ventrem replere, asymata dilatate, et sublimiora occupare subsellia. His omnibus accedebat libido impotens, sacratoris vitæ morumque lues teterrima. In multorum sacerdotum ædibus scortum publicum; pernoctabant in tabernis yri Deo dicati: nec a sacrilego quorundam luxu tutus erat matronarum honos

honos aut virginalis pudor. Quid plura? Celebris illa populi erga religiosos veneratio in ludibrium conversa: pro mendicantibus manducantes dicti fratres. Et si quæ nova ad irrisionem vocabula ab otiosis agyrtis excogitari poterant, monasticæ disciplinæ sætatoribus, modo dicteriorum sale et aceto adpersa, nihil fuit pensæ, aptabantur.'—*Comæus de duphçi statu Religionis.* Romæ, 1628,* p. 90.

But we know from even better authority than the contemporary champion of the old faith against the spreading innovations, or the Scotch Romanist of the next generation, what was the state of the secular clergy immediately before the Reformation. The Bishops themselves, at the time when the new doctrines were agitating the minds of men, were almost without exception living in open violation of their ordination vows; and the most cultivated, the most amiable among them, were, in this respect not a whit purer than the others.

To their secular accomplishments Sir Ralph Sadler, a shrewd observer, writing in the end of James V.'s reign, bears witness:—

'I see none among the lay nobles that hath any agility of wit, gravity, learning, or experience to take in hand the direction of things: so that the King, as far as I can perceive, is of force driven to use the Bishops and his clergy as his only ministers. They be the men of wit and polity that I see here.'—*Negotiations in Scotland*, p. 61.

It was not for such men 'of wit and polity' that vows of temperance and chastity were to be enforced. They were only too free—

'They have great prerogatives,
And may part aye with their wives
Without divorce or summoning,
Then take another without wedding.'

Such of them as were contented with one woman were esteemed virtuous; nay, ladies of good condition thought it no shame to live as their avowed concubines, and found the sympathy of society not averse to such a departure from the celibacy which the Church pretended to enforce. These things are brought more home to us in the domestic history of a narrow kingdom:—but the condition of the clergy was not materially different in other countries of Christendom, before the Reformation had produced a change of morals far beyond the widest spread of its doctrines.

The head of the Scotch hierarchy at its most eventful period was David Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Apostolic Legate and Cardinal—the impersonation of the faults and virtues of his age and order. Of a good gentleman's family, nephew to the reigning Archbishop, he was educated carefully at Paris, where he continued for ten years, attracted the notice and gained the confidence of the Regent Albany, and returned only to fill the
highest

highest offices of diplomacy and state. His success in life, his favour at the French court, his paramount influence over successive rulers of his own country, prove his ability better than the encomiums of Archibald Hay, the Principal of his newly endowed college at St. Andrews, whose warning⁸ however is remarkable, *that the morals of all the churchmen of the kingdom depend upon him—*Ecclesiasticorum omnium in regno Scotiæ mores a te pendent, ut si quid peccent rationem reddas Christo cujus vicem geris in eâ regione.* *Beaton was the Wolsey of Scotland. If he dilapidated his benefices to enrich his family, he was also a patron of letters and learned men. *He was zealous for the church, and as unscrupulous in the use of means as all the other leading men of that age on both sides of the religious struggle. Undoubtedly, if he had lived, the Reformers would have had a still harder fight for the victory. He was the leader of society and acceptable everywhere. The irregularities of his life were not censured until the shout of the Reformation was heard to call to account 'the dumb dogs of Bishops.' Men looked upon him as the able statesman, the lord of princely revenues, the most powerful person in the kingdom—as anything but the mere ecclesiastic and man of God. The popular indignation against the judge and executioner of Borthwick and Wishart has overborne the sympathy that must have otherwise attended the murder of the Cardinal. He lives in Scotch story as 'the bloody beast,' the profligate sensualist, that Knox has painted him. A recent writer, Mr. Lyon, tells us, 'as to Beaton's mistresses, the number would appear to be immense, if we could trust the peasantry of Forfarshire, who point out half the towers in their county as having been the residences of these ladies.'* This very charitable Protestant proceeds to treat the Cardinal's breach of chastity as, at worst, a matter of doubt; and another, bolder still, affirms specifically that 'he was a widower previous to his entering into holy orders.' There is, however, no foundation for the assertion that he was ever married. He lived with a concubine, the daughter of an old baronial house, during the greater part of his life; and she survived him for thirty years. The offspring of that connection were numerous; some of the sons were dignified churchmen—others laymen, who founded families in Fife and Angus.

* History of St. Andrews, Edin., 1843. Mr. Lyon is a clergyman of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, which he loves well, if not wisely. While he endeavours to palliate the flagrant immorality of the prelates of the time of the Reformation, the real destroyers of the Church, he takes up Spelman's old position, and thinks he has proved that the special vengeance of Heaven lighted on all who were partakers of her spoil, and that it was shown in the violent death of each individual or 'the failure of his male issue.' This last theory, at all events, is a mere dream. Look either to the English or the Scotch Peerage book at the present hour.

Three of these gentlemen had letters of legitimation under the Great Seal on the 4th November, 1539. For not less than four of their sisters, all taking their father's name and all in recorded documents setting forth his style and rank as honourable to them, large dowers found matches among the best of the Scotch nobility and gentry. A capital picture of Beaton, unknown to Pinkerton, formerly in the Scots college at Rome, now hangs on the walls of the Roman Catholic College at Blairs in Aberdeenshire. It is in his doctor's bonnet—painted probably before he obtained the cardinal's hat; but the brown hair is slightly silvered, and the whole aspect bespeaks a man past his youth. His broad brow and dark eye, clear northern complexion, and high features make up on the whole a remarkably handsome face, with an undeniable air of nobility and command, but not without a dash of sensuality.

The chair of the murdered cardinal was filled by John Hamilton, natural son of the first Earl of Arran. Mr. Laing says, his catechism, printed at St. Andrews in 1552, 'exhibits a solitary effort on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy to convey spiritual instruction, and is most creditable to his memory,' p. 124. This Archbishop lived openly with the wife or widow of his kinsman, Hamilton of Stenhouse. That lady, known as 'Lady Stenhouse,' or 'Lady Gilstown,' affected no concealment. Among the goods and chattels inventoried in her testament, confirmed at Edinburgh in 1575, are specified *three grants of legitimation* in favour of as many bastard children by his Grace.

Contemporary with Beaton, and assisting in his efforts to put down the new doctrines, was William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane from 1527 till 1564. Knox styles him the 'incestuous Bishop of Dunblane,' p. 63. We know from a more unprejudiced authority that, 'being a great adversary to the new Reformation, he alienated the episcopal patrimony of this church to a very singular degree, most of which he gave to his nephew, Sir James Chisholm of Cromlix. He likewise gave great portions to James Chisholm of Glassengall, his own natural son, and to his two natural daughters, one of whom was married to Sir James Stirling of Keir, and the other to John Buchanan of that ilk.'—*Bishop Keith's Catalogue of Scotch Bishops*.

Robert Stuart was elected Bishop of Caithness in 1542. He was brother of the Earl of Lennox, Darnley's uncle, and eventually Earl of Lennox himself; and had the bishopric and other church preferment merely as convenient provision for his maintenance. It is doubtful if he ever received ordination; but he did not scruple to concur in consecrating a bishop. He had in early life a natural daughter—married to Robert Auldjo; and after the

the Reformation he took to wife the profligate and impudent Elizabeth Stewart, the daughter of the Earl of Atholl, who divorced him on the plea of impotency, that she might marry her paramour Arran, the King's minion.

In those times of brooding revolution the bishopric of Ross was held successively by several men of eminent qualities. David Panter, consecrated in 1546, 'a person,' says Bishop Keith, 'of most polite education and excellent parts,' was one of a family of statesmen and scholars. Knox admits 'the public report of his learning, his honest life, and his fervency and uprightness in religion' (p. 105), though at a later period, when he finds him in the ranks of his opponents, he calls him 'that belly-god,' and says 'he departed eating and drinking, which, together with the rest that thereupon depends, was the pastime of his life.' P. 262. Sir James Balfour styles him a 'notable adulterer,' and Mr. Riddell, in his 'Remarks upon the Peerage Law of Scotland,' unfortunately supports the testimony of Balfour, and further connects the bishop with one of the strangest and darkest stories to be found even in Scotch family history. Buchanan gives the first act of the tragedy. William, the third Lord Crichtoun, in revenge, it is said, for the debauching of his wife by James III., devoted himself to captivate the King's youngest sister, Margaret, a princess of great beauty, with the temperament of her family, *et consuetudine fratris infamem*. He succeeded in his purpose, and the fruit of that amour was Margaret Crichtoun, a lady who inherited the passions and misfortunes of her lineage. She was wedded successively to two citizen burgesses of Edinburgh, and thirdly to George Earl of Rothes, by whom she had a large family. She had lovers besides, and among them Patrick Panter, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, Secretary of State, the first scholar and diplomatist of his age. It was the brave fashion then in Scotland to give children the name of their real or supposed father, not of him *quem, nuptiæ demonstrant*, and, of the offspring of this intercourse between the royal Countess and the accomplished Abbot, one was David Panter, afterwards Bishop of Ross. He was carefully educated and launched into the world by the Abbot, whom he succeeded in his office of Secretary as well as in his power of wielding that useful diplomatic Latin which the learned Ruddiman so much esteemed. It would have been strange if, come of such a race, he had proved a model of continence. But we may surmise that a MS. authority, quoted by Mr. Riddell, errs in a generation, when it asserts that 'Margaret Crichtoun was divorced by George Earl of Rothes, because when he is ambassador she had a bairn to Panter Bishop of Ross.' (*Remarks*, p. 188.) Of the divorce itself there is no doubt; but the paramour,

mour, it must be hoped, was her old lover the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, whom the chronicler confounds with their son!—Another Bishop of Ross, after a very short interval, was the well-known John Leslie, the faithful servant of Queen Mary and the elegant historian of his 'country, a person so admirable in all other respects that his breach of his ordination-vows shows both the sad effects of the example of a whole society and the danger of making a law so hard upon human nature that the sympathies of mankind are in favour of breaking it.

Patrick Hepburn became Bishop of Moray in 1535. This was the 'Prelate or prelates' peer,' of whom, while Prior of St. Andrews, Knox relates the 'merry boud' which we have not ventured to reproduce. He was the son of an Earl of Bothwell before that name had become hateful to Scotland. He held the office of Secretary for some years, and rich benefices in the church. But he is chiefly known as the Bishop who retired to his northern castle-palace of Spynie, and set the Reformation at defiance—in this more honest than most of his contemporaries, who complied with the change of religion that they might continue to hold their benefices and legalize the children of their concubinage. He lived long enough to dilapidate his great Bishopric and to provide for a very large family, whose several legitimations stand on record.

The last of the ante-reformation bishops of Argyll was Robert Montgomery, a son of the first Earl of Eglintoun. He was promoted to the see in 1531, and on the 9th of July, 1543, letters of legitimation under the privy seal were granted in favour of Michael, Robert, and Hugh Montgomerie, 'bastard sons of the reverend father in Christ Robert Bishop of Argyll.'

The Bishop of Galloway of those times was a person of greater notoriety—namely, Alexander Gordon, brother of *the fat Earl of Huntley* who was smothered in his armour at the field of Corrichie. He was early thrust into several good benefices, and held by turns the Abbacies of Colmkill, Inchaffray, and Glenluce, the Bishoprics of Caithness and of the Isles, and the Archbishopric of Glasgow. These successively slipped from him, and he was at length content to take the see of Galloway with the airy dignity of Archbishop of Athens. However otherwise unepiscopal, he was not one of Knox's dumb dogs. Calderwood has preserved a sermon preached by him in the High Church of Edinburgh in 1571. He was to admonish the citizens to put up prayers for Queen Mary. Hear the Bishop:—

'She is a lawful magistrate, seeing her father was a lawful king, and her mother likewise an honourable princess, and she born in lawful bed. This for the proof of my argument that she ought to be prayed

prayed for. And further, all sinners ought to be prayed for. If we should not pray for sinners, for whom should we pray—seeing that God came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance? St. David was a sinner, and so is she; St. David was an adulterer, and so is she. St. David committed murder in slaying Uriah for his wife, and so did she. But what is this to the matter? . . . Is not my Lord of Morton on their side? Is not my Lord of Argyll on our side? Nay! brethren, nay! for I confess myself, yea, this foul carcase of mine, to be most vile carrion and altogether given to the lusts of the flesh; yea, I am not ashamed to say the greatest trumper in all Europe, until such time as it pleased God to call upon me and make me one of his chosen vessels upon whom he has poured the spirit of his Evangel; and as candles when lighted are set upon high places, so shall I show the gifts God hath given me among you.'

This frank prelate was Queen's man or King's man as each party was in power; he joined the Reformation that he might marry Barbara Logie, his mistress, and make his children by her legitimate; but loved the benefices of the old church well enough to transmit them to his sons, two of whom, one after the other, held his bishopric of Galloway, and two others successively got possession of his secularised abbacy of Glenluce.

Of the Bishops of Dunkeld, Gawin Douglas, the high-born scholar and poet, having lived according to what might then be called the licence of his order, died in 1522. George Crichtoun succeeded him, 'a man,' says Archbishop Spottiswoode, 'nobly disposed, and a great housekeeper, but in matters of his calling not very skilled.' It was he who said to one of his vicars, whom he was persuading to leave his reforming opinions, that 'he thanked God he knew neither the Old nor the New Testament, and yet had prospered well enough all his days.'

The labours of the Spalding Club have made ecclesiastical students well acquainted with the successive prelates in the see of Aberdeen. During the half-century preceding the Reformation it was held by some of the most remarkable men whom Scotland has produced. Bishop William Elphinston was a Churchman after the antique model. He was a lawyer, a statesman, and a courtier of the highest influence and power, yet never sacrificed his diocesan duties to secular cares, nor allowed the fashion of the court to secularise his life and habits. 'With manners and temperance in his own person befitting the primitive ages of Christianity, he threw around his cathedral and palace the taste and splendour that may adorn religion. He found time, amidst the cares of state and the pressure of official duties, to preserve the Christian antiquities of his diocese, and to collect the memories of those old servants of the truth who had run a course similar to his own, to renovate his cathedral service, and

to

to support and foster all good letters.' The breviary of Aberdeen, compiled as well as printed by him, in 1509, when printing was not a commonplace operation, will serve as an enduring memorial of his worth; and his picture, preserved in the college of which he was the munificent founder, perhaps the oldest portrait in Scotland, fixes in our memory the great prelate and minister of state, as the thoughtful, devout, and even ascetic churchman.

Gawin Dunbar, consecrated as Bishop of Aberdeen in 1519, was a lawyer and politician like Elphinston, and, like him, munificent to his church and diocese. As the builder of the bridge across the Dee, which has already seen the downfall of so many modern toy-bridges, and as the careful executor of Elphinston's undertakings, his memory is still held in respect in the stately old city which owes so much to him. He was a zealous assistant of the Cardinal in suppressing heresy, and no more scrupulous as to the means than was customary in that age. His mixture with the crooked politics of that unprincipled court sufficed to secularize him, and, however we may doubt the testimony of Knox concerning 'the old Bishop of Aberdeen,' the impudent allusion of Furrou to his daughter, Mistress Balfour (*supra*, p. 38), plainly pointed to what must have been a common scandal.

In 1546 William Gordon, a son of the noble family of Huntley, was made Bishop of Aberdeen. Bishop Leslie, who was one of his chapter, describes him as 'a prelate of good living'—marking that his own standard of good life in a bishop was not lofty. The records of the see, in his time, are full of signs of the approaching storm. They show us steps made in two directions. There are a few feeble efforts by churchmen to meet the popular clamour for reforming the lives of the clergy—to furnish instruction and especially preaching to the people—to set their house in order. On the other hand, it was felt that the fabric was tottering, and the Lords of the Church rushed eagerly to scatter some of the booty among their families and kindred, and a part to make friends of 'the Mammon of Unrighteousness.' The Registers of Aberdeen are full of charters and leases, contrived for dilapidating the benefices of the see. A still more notable document of Bishop Gordon's incumbency, however, is a really respectful and affectionate address to him, by the Dean and Chapter (dated January 5, 1558) urging—

'*Imprimis*; that my Lord Bishop cause the kirkmen within his diocesis to reform themselves in all their slanderous manner of living, and to remove their open concubines, as well great as small. *Secundo*, that his Lordship will be so good as to show edificative example—in special in removing and discharging himself of the company of the gentlewoman

woman by whom he is greatly slandered; without the which be done, diverse that are partners say they cannot accept counsel and correction of him which will not correct himself.' &c. &c.—*Reg. Aberd.*, lxi.

It is remarkable that Lindsay, in his *Tragedie of the Cardinall*, where he means to rake up every ground of reproach against Beaton, omits all allusion to breaches of chastity. We cannot doubt the cause. The offence was so common that to dwell upon it would have lowered the tone of horror with which the poet wished to surround his subject. Among other results of the superior education of churchmen, and that citizenship of the world which then belonged to them, it had come to pass that great prelates, directing the business of the state, heading factions, often leading them in the field, appeared to be unfrocked, and ceased to be regarded as ecclesiastics. It was not only, however, nor even chiefly, by this entire secularising and violation of their vows that the clergy alienated their flocks. Through several centuries the exactions of the Church had been steadily increasing. Offerings originally voluntary had been converted into dues of which she compelled payment. Money was exacted at all great festivals; a heavy tax was levied on every event from baptism to burial; even afterwards the heavy hand of the priest was there. If the deceased was wealthy, the 'quot of his testament' formed a large deduction from the succession. If poor, still 'the heriot and the umaist cloth,' i. e. the best animal and the richest garment, were taken from his widow and orphans 'for pious uses.'

But of the innumerable evils of a system which forced the people to regard the Church as an extortionate oppressor, perhaps the greatest was the state of the law of marriage. Persons within eight degrees of consanguinity—in other words, who had had a common great-great-grandfather, or great-great-grandmother—might not legally wed. But it was not the relation by birth alone that barred marriage. It was forbidden also to parties within eight degrees of affinity—that is, to those whom marriage, or even an illegitimate intimacy, connected within those degrees. The prohibition was farther extended to all coming within the same degrees of each other through *spiritual relation*, or that created by baptism—which affected not only the wide cousinhoods of the *baptisans* and *baptisatus*—but the connexions arising from the relation of godfather and godmother, as such, in regard to each other. The effects of such a tyranny must have been felt doubly in a country so narrow and so distant as Scotland. The Archbishop of St. Andrews, writing in 1554 for the information of the Pope, stated that such was the cousinship among the Scotch families, it was almost impossible to find a match

for one of good birth (*honesta vel generosa familia*) that should not come within some of the prohibited degrees. The evil of this, says the Archbishop, is that 'men marry on the promise or hope of a dispensation to be procured afterwards, but, tiring of the connexion, either divorce their wives, or at once put them away under pretext of the want of dispensation, and their inability to afford the expense necessary for procuring one.' It was not to be expected that his Grace should dwell on the real hardship of that expense.

Marriage became in fact a temporary contract, or worse, a bargain from which either party might break at pleasure. It was in theory indissoluble; but when both spouses or either tired of the bond, nothing so easy as to find or make an impediment which proved it null from the beginning. In an uncommon chance the man and woman were not themselves within the forbidden degrees—cousins not more than eight times removed—it was hard if it could not be shown, by such witnesses as were used in the Consistorial Court, that one of the two had had intercourse lawfully or sinfully, or was connected spiritually, with a person related within those degrees to the other party. If such proof was not ready, the fickle party had the recourse of suing for a separation on the ground of misconduct subsequent to marriage. The evidence was of the vilest description, and those consistorial judges satisfied themselves with 'saving the law,' promulgating old brocards of unquestioned principles, and leaving the parties to put in a show of proof that might warrant their application. In their hands the church courts became the common marts for matrimonial jobs. To them appealed the profligate husband—eager to be free to lure some beauty whom he had found he could not buy except by a wedding ring. By their help the courtier, the Angus or Bothwell, threw aside the obstacle that came in the way of an ambitious alliance. But weary wives were as ready in this line as weary husbands. The monstrous state of the law unsexed women; and ladies of good condition, and living in high society, not only sued divorces against their husbands, but impudently set forth their own guilt and shame as the ground of them.

Mr. Riddell, in a chapter of much curious consistorial learning appended to his latest work on Scotch Peerage Law, has commented in detail upon some of the *causes célèbres* that illustrate the procedure and effects of such suits. This eminent legal antiquary, who knows but too well the secret history of families three centuries ago, says 'nothing can be conceived more loose and depraved than the state of society in Scotland before the Reformation;' but he might safely have added, *and for long afterwards*—for reformation of national manners is no sudden thing, and the mischievous

mischievous machinery of the courts of the old Officials was freshly revived in the courts of the venerable 'Superintendents' and the more formal judicature of the 'Commissaries.'

The evil pervaded all classes, but the highest ranks are most prominent in the records of shame.

* The alliance of James IV. with the daughter of Henry VII. seemed made under the happiest auspices, to give peace and union to the two kingdoms; and so at length it came to pass, but not as men devised. Margaret Tudor was married at thirteen. Her progress into Scotland and her reception by the gay and gallant James had more of chivalrous and romantic splendour than usually attends royal sponsals. While the King lived, though he was not altogether uxorious, Margaret never attracted scandal. She had borne him three sons (two died infants) and was about again to become a mother when widowed by the fatal field of Flodden. She was then not twenty-four. In less than a year after the King's death—in little more than three months after the birth of their son Alexander—she married Angus, a handsome boy. Margaret was fair and buxom, and might almost have been called beautiful if we did not find from even the rude portraits of that age that her countenance was devoid of delicacy and feminine expression. She was covetous of power and of money, like her brother and her father, and not without talent for business. But—true sister of Henry VIII.—all considerations of policy were thrown to the wind under the influence of passion. She had sacrificed her sway in Scotland, as guardian of her son, to gratify her sudden love for Angus; and when she was tired of him, she threw away the support of England and her brother by her open amour with the Regent John Duke of Albany. It is said they meditated marriage, though Albany, like herself, was already married. But that proceeding was too tedious. Who next occupied her affections after the Regent's estrangement and absence, we do not learn; but in 1524 she became desperately smitten with young Henry Stuart of Avondale, and resolved at all hazards to marry him. Angus for some time opposed her desire for a divorce, but at length yielded, and furnished the requisite evidence of his having 'been pre-contracted to a gentlewoman (a daughter of Traquair) who bore a child to him before he married the Queen; and so, by reason of the pre-contract, he could not be her lawful husband.' The sentence of nullity was pronounced by the Cardinal Bishop of Ancona on the 11th of March 1527; and we are not surprised to learn that the Queen's agents at Rome *pingues expectant propinas, ita quod omnes non possunt contenturj cum 600 ducatus.** The Queen lost no time, and on

* Original letter to Albany, in the Archives du Royaume at Paris.

the 2nd day of April she gave her hand to Henry Stuart, afterwards Lord Methven, whom she tired of almost as soon as she had done of Angus. They lived on for some time unhappily enough. Henry VIII. was much scandalised by his sister's licentious use of matrimony! But Margaret had no weak scruples. She determined to be free to marry a fourth time, and for this object had recourse once more to the Church courts. She was able to prove that Methven was cousin, eight degrees removed, to her second husband Angus; and upon the plea that this constituted an affinity between her and Methven, she demanded to have her third marriage set aside. The Official, either yielding to the imperious woman, or satisfied of the fact that they were within the forbidden degrees, pronounced a decree annulling that marriage, which is found written and registered in the extant volume of the record of his court. Her son, the young James V., however, stayed its promulgation, and prevented the additional disgrace to his family. Margaret died three years afterwards.

Upon these divorces Mr. Riddell raises some curious speculation. We find that Angus married again as well as Queen Margaret. It may be convenient to suppose that 'the gentlewoman who bore a child' was dead, but that is not known, and is not to be presumed merely from the fact of his new marriage. The same machinery used before might serve him again. He might show that some unsuspected cousinship existed between him and the 'gentlewoman,' or that he had had at some still earlier date a criminal intercourse with some third party *sib* to 'the gentlewoman.' Such evidence was to be had for the buying, and then 'the precontract' *disappeared*.

'Granting this solution,' says Mr. Riddell, 'in what a strange predicament Angus and the parties would have been, though doubtless not incapable of being rescued from it by the devices and venality of lawyers. His marriage with the Queen would then have turned out to be lawful, and after proper procedure still valid and binding—which at the same time—the Earl surviving the Princess—would have respectively annulled those they latterly contracted. How all classes must have been more or less contaminated by such example of the upper! But a still more material reflection suggests itself from this and the general unhinged condition of individuals,—what a number of bastards there must have been!'—*Riddell*, p. 474.

Janet Betoun, the Lady Buccleuch of the Lay of the Last Minstrel, has an unfortunate pre-eminence in those cases where law was made to pander to passion. She was the eldest daughter of Sir John Betoun, of Creich, a branch of the respectable family of Balfour in Fife, which was brought into more than its due place
by

by having given successive archbishops to St. Andrews and Glasgow. She was first married to Sir James Creichton of Cranston-Riddell, and was entered in the dower lands as but recently his widow in 1539. She must have married Simon Preston, the young laird of Craigmillar, soon afterwards, for in 1543 we find her suing a divorce against him in the court of St. Andrews. There was no relationship to vitiate the bond. The lady alleged no misconduct of her husband. As the ground of her suit she blushed not to set forth that before their marriage she had had sinful intercourse with Walter Scott of Buccleuch, and that Buccleuch and Preston were within the prohibited degrees;—*ante pretensum matrimonium inter Jonetam et Simonem contractum, honorabilis vir Walterus Scott de Bulcluyt carnaliter cognovit dictam Jonetam; quicquidem Simon et Walterus in tertio et quarto gradibus consanguinitatis sibi mutuo attinent, et sic prefati Simon et Joneta in eisdem affinitatis gradibus*. On that allegation, and proof of the cousinship being of course furnished, the Official declared the marriage null—*dantes utrique alibi in Domino nubendi facultatem*. The motive of the suit became manifest then, if it were not so before; and on the 2nd of December 1544 Janet was wedded to her old paramour Buccleuch. She was by no means disgraced or slighted for these incidents of her life, and only suffered scandal from her reputed taste for the black art. She lived respectably with her third husband, a stout and hardy borderer, fit mate for such a partner, till his death in the night foray—

‘ When startled burghers fled afar
The furies of the Border war:
When the streets of high Dunedin
Saw lances gleam and falchions redden,
And heard the slogan’s deadly yell—
Then the chief of Branksome fell.’

After his death (in 1552) the Lady of Branksome, though not, as the Minstrel feigns, the mother of the young chief—who was of a former marriage—was, nevertheless, allowed to rule the household and the estates of Buccleuch, and even rode at the head of ‘the rough clan.’ She was in favour and correspondence too with the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise. In the mean time she was seeking consolation in her widowhood, and, though not wedded in face of Church, she allowed the privileges of a husband to a dangerous man, who afterwards became too celebrated. She was proved to be ‘quietly married or handfast’ to James Earl of Bothwell in 1559.

When Bothwell’s subsequent adventures bring him more prominently on the stage, the dark heroine of Branksome is again

somewhat strangely mixed up with his fortunes. He had married, as is well known, the Lady Jean Gordon in 1565. It would seem the 'handfasting' with Dame Janet was not considered an impediment to that match, nor was even worthy to be pleaded when Mary and Bothwell wished to set it aside: for when the granddaughter of Margaret Tudor had resolved at all hazards to espouse Bothwell herself, other means were sought for removing the obstacle of an existing wife. His Countess, certainly collusively, though also perhaps of her own free will, sued a divorce on the ground of his adultery with a servant—and she obtained it 'with but small show of resistance.' At the same time, the Earl was plaintiff in a similar suit against her; and procured a decree annulling their marriage on the ground of their being *sib* within the fourth degree. The lady's suit was before the new, legal, Commissary Court—the jurisdiction and grounds of action both chosen to please the Reformed party: the Earl's, founding on the canonical nullity, was in a hastily constituted ecclesiastical Court—to suit the views of those of the old faith; and that Court did its work expeditiously, for the proceedings commenced on the 5th, and decree of nullity was pronounced on the 7th of May, 1567.*

At the time of Darnley's murder and the other crowded events of Mary's tragedy, the Lady of Buccleuch—thrice, perhaps four times a widow—ought to have been well past the turmoils of young blood; yet in the popular belief she was still associated with her former lover, Bothwell. Mr. Riddell says she was charged with administering magic philtres to the Queen, with a view to secure her Majesty's love to him—a very curious termination for a life like Dame Janet's. It is not necessary to maintain of the Lady of Branksome that—

'She wrought not by forbidden spell;'

but perhaps the learned author has no other authority for the strange tale than one which may bear a different construction—the well-known placard exhibited in the streets of Edinburgh, accusing of Darnley's end, Bothwell, black Mr. John Spens,

* Lady Jean Gordon, a daughter of Huntly, and a zealous Romanist, some years after her divorce from Bothwell married the Protestant Earl of Sutherland, and again upon his death Sir Alexander Ogilvie, of the knightly house of Boynes. She had a numerous family by Sutherland, and, notwithstanding her third marriage, and her steadiness to her religion—then out of fashion—continued both to enjoy the dowry of Bothwell, and to manage most vigorously the affairs of the Sutherland Earldom, till her death, at the age of eighty-four. A picture of her, at Dunrobin, preserves the high *manly* features of her race and country, and an expression not to be mistaken of resolution and sense. She is dressed in a sort of cowl, with a rosary and cross in her hand. The collar, like a man's shirt-collar of the present day, adds to the masculine character of the portrait.

'who was principal deviser of the murder, and the Quene assenting thairto throw the persuasion of the Erie Bothwell and the witchcraft of Lady Buccleuch.' If it were allowed to speculate on such narrow grounds, it would seem more reasonable to attribute the dealings of the lady, the paramour of Bothwell, to jealousy of a formidable rival, than to a wish of securing for him the affection of the young and beautiful Queen.

A few other cases will show that the machinery of the Church court could be set in motion for others than crowned heads. George, first Earl of Rothes, after living for twenty years with his wife, wished to change. But their eldest son was already married to a daughter of the house of St. Clair, and that family was thus concerned for the legitimacy of the Rothes children. The parties went to work in business-like form, named arbiters, and bound themselves to abide by their award. It was settled that Rothes should take a divorce, or rather a declaration of nullity of his marriage, on the ground of his countess and himself being within the forbidden degrees. But, to take off the consequent illegitimacy, he was to depose judicially that he did not know of the *sib*-ness till after the birth of all his children.

Another striking enough case did not come into the Commissary Court till after the Reformation—but the facts had taken place at the period we are considering. Thomas Ogilvie of Craig married Jannet Fraser of Lovat openly in face of the Church, and they lived together, and had 'diverse bairns.' Then, somewhat tiring of the first wife, he chose to add a second, Beatrix Chisholm. The banns were proclaimed in the parish church of Glenlyon, where Jannet Fraser dwelt, and she offered no opposition—'by manifest collusion.' In this way Ogilvie, who had two mansion-houses on his estate, had also for some time two wives openly entertained by him, the one, Jannet, dwelling in the 'Over Craig,' the other, Beatrix, in the 'West or Nether Craig.' The suit to put an end to this bigamous display was by the Fiscal or public prosecutor, and not raised by either of the ladies. Both must have been quite well aware of the circumstances all along. But it probably now suited both that the first wife should be set wholly aside; and that which they saw their neighbours do under colour of law, they chose in the highlands of Perthshire to manage without the expense of the Consistorial Court.

The legitimation of irregular offspring by the subsequent marriage of the parents, never very conducive to morality, was set about in Scotland, as in some countries on the Continent, with remarkable ceremony. Mr. Riddell quotes a case where parties were married 'in the face of holy kirk,' in the chapel of Broomhill, 'they holding their natural son, called Claud Hamilton, under

under *spousal cloth* between them.' This spousal cloth, *pallium*, is explained by Furetière:—

'Ce drap qu'on étend sur ceux qui se marient; d'où vient qu'on dit *mettre les enfans sous le Poile*, de la cérémonie qui se fait pour légitimer les enfans naturels par un subséquent mariage en les mettant sous ce Poile.'

The custom of the 'cair-cloth,' or 'the cloak,' is still retained for the same purpose among the common people in some districts of Scotland.

We have no room for more of these curious though often revolting cases. Mr. Riddell's book is rich in them, and, forming as it does a very valuable authority for the peerage and consistorial lawyer, deserves also to be carefully perused by every student of history and manners.

Though proceedings in an expensive judicature were necessarily for the most part had by people of some wealth, it would be easy to show that the upper classes had no monopoly of vice. The records of all the Church courts immediately after the Reformation furnish a loathsome picture of the dissoluteness of the lowest. For instance in articles presented against Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, in the General Assembly of 1570, he is charged, among other delicts, 'with leaving the flock destitute without shepherd, whereby not only ignorance is increased, but also most abundantly all vice and horrible crimes are there committed, as the number of six hundred persons convicted of incest, adultery, and fornication in Zetland beareth witness.' Far from contradicting that character of the morals of his remote islands, the Bishop's reply was limited to denying that *he had abandoned absolutely the preaching of the word.*

The effect of the Reformation upon the manners of the clergy, whether of the old faith or of the new, was of course signal and immediate. Of its influence upon the people—of the astounding inroad and wide spread of new superstitions—of the slow disappearance of the *general* immorality which we have faintly described—it is our design to treat in an early number.

- ART. III.—1. *Notes on North America—Agricultural, Economical, and Social.*—By James F. W. Johnston, M.A., F.R.S. 2 vols. post 8vo. Edinburgh. 1851.
2. *Lettres sur l'Amérique.* Par X. Marmier. 2 vols. 12mo. Paris. 1851.
3. *Travels in America.* A Lecture delivered by the Earl of Carlisle before the Leeds Mechanics' Institution and Literary Society. Tenth edition. 1851.
4. *A Glimpse of the Great Western Republic.* By Lieut.-Colonel Arthur Cunynghame, author of 'An Afde-de-camp's Recollections of Service in China.' 8vo. 1851.

BESIDES quoting freely from the concise practical volumes of Mr. Johnston, and availing ourselves, now and then, of those by the acute and observant, but diffuse and rather sentimental M. Marmier, as well as of Lord Carlisle's graphic Lecture, and the shrewd although rapid *Glimpse* of Colonel Cunynghame, we mean also on this occasion to make considerable use of the latest columns of the American press. Already, fresh as these title-pages are, such supplementary information is indispensable. Indeed, so extensive are the changes which the agency of man is continually effecting in the Western World, that there is little exaggeration in the statement made by one of our authors—that 'a book might be written every six months by the same traveller periodically revisiting the same scenes, and yet possess in a high degree the charm of novelty.'

Professor Johnston's expedition was not one of mere spontaneous curiosity. He was invited to deliver a course of lectures before the great meeting of the New York Agricultural Society at Syracuse. And in New Brunswick a more arduous task awaited his arrival; for, as soon as his acceptance of the New York call became known, he had been requested by the Governor and House of Assembly to examine that province, with the view of preparing a Report upon its agricultural capabilities. These missions he successfully accomplished, and afterwards visited our other North American provinces, as well as the Eastern and part of the Southern States of the Union, returning to this country, after an active six months' tour, in April 1850. We have now to thank him for a narrative of great and varied instruction. His views are calm, and remarkably unprejudiced; though a Liberal, his book shows but traces of the bigotry of partisanship.

One of the first subjects he enters upon—and he often recurs to it—is the discontent prevailing in our American provinces, and the desire, openly expressed by many, for annexation to the States—

States—a topic which has now assumed the very gravest importance from the announced intention of Government to withdraw her Majesty's troops from the Canadas, and thus resign them to their own wishes and resources.* There has lately been such a confusion of political parties, and there always is such a variety of interests, both moral and material, in our Canadian provinces, that it is all but impossible to arrive at a correct conclusion as to their actual condition. At this moment we dare say very few of our readers can tell how it happened that a majority of Upper Canadian members, of British blood, and many of them British born, went with the French members in the case of the portentous Indemnity Bill. How came those who had been unanimous, not a few of them gallantly active, in opposing the rebellion, to be found voting with those who had all favoured, many of them participated in it? Mr. Johnston put this question to a friend of his—one of these British members—and his explanation was to the following effect:—For a long series of years, Upper Canada was under the dominating rule of what was called the Family Compact, by which home-born Canadians and a certain number of high officials divided all posts and patronage among themselves, and did everything in their power to keep the British-born from participating in the sweets of place. The few British who gained access to the Assembly, therefore, were naturally driven into opposition, and, after the union of the Provinces, made common cause with the French Opposition to the Tory Government, till at length the numbers of the latter party exceeded those returned by the Family Compact. As a natural result the Tories were ousted, and the present mixed Government went in. In short, still fresh from the struggle, and embarrassed by their ill-assorted alliance with the French members, the British-born allowed party to triumph over principle, and voted for the *Indemnity Bill*. It may be very true that many of them 'never believed or intended that any one who had aided or promoted the rebellion should be compensated;' but there must have been others not quite so shortsighted, and whose only excuse is their awkward position. Nevertheless, but for the incredible weakness of the Government at home, we should have had no serious fear. Under any circumstances that could well have been anticipated, we should have felt confidence that

* See Correspondence relating to the Civil List of Canada (Blue Book, April, 1851) pp. 9-13—Despatch from Lord Grey, dated March 14—in which he informs Lord Elgin that, in consequence of the pleasant state of our relations with the government at Washington, it is considered needless to maintain any British force in our Provinces, except 'the garrisons of two or three fortified posts—probably only Quebec and Kingston!'

matters would right themselves, and that the whole British party, whether home or provincial born, would ere long stand side by side again on all great questions. The Indemnity Bill was a most unhappy measure—if only from the discord and discontent it occasioned among the loyalists—so that many of the old Tories have been heard loudest in the cries for ‘annexation.’ But time would probably have healed the mischief thus inflicted: and so far as this immediate irritation went, we should have been of good hope for the provinces.

It must be allowed, however, that the folly of the Home Government is not the only source of our apprehensions now. The local irritation has produced a brood of erroneous conceptions of sufficiently dangerous character, and which even with the wisest management it might have been difficult to clear away from the minds of the provincials. The most alarming of these is, that, beholding the rapid progress of certain portions of the States, they suppose there must be something in the constitution of the Union more favourable than their own to the development of a country’s resources. That this is a total delusion, Mr. Johnston believes, and, we think, proves. When compared with the *whole* Union, our provinces exhibit an even more rapid rate of advance. It is only the north-western States and New York that outstrip the Canadas; but then these adjoin our territory—the sight of their progress is ever before the provincials—this partial superiority is thought to be universal, and the genuine British spirit of grumbling is freely indulged in. In fact, continues Mr. Johnston, the energy of the Canadians is as great and as well-directed as *any of the States* can show; even as to canals, the former, in proportion to the population, will yield in no point to the latter. The true reason of the envied advance of New York and the north-western States is simply this:—It is through them that the flood of emigration has been and is now pouring into the New World; and as long as this goes on, the men and money of Europe must cause them to distance all competitors. But let our provinces look forward—nay, let them even look keenly into the present, and they will discern that the balance is already quivering ere it turn in their favour. Can they not read the sure destiny of their St. Lawrence? That mighty river is the natural outlet of the immense lake districts; and, as these are fast peopling, signs of future argosies are appearing on its waters. The Erie Canal is no longer adequate for the traffic streaming along it; and all the expense that the Americans ever can bestow upon it, will never make it keep pace with the wants of the inland States. Let, then, our fellow-subjects take heart, and be patient; for if their progress at present
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be more moderate than their immediate neighbours', it is due to no fault of theirs or ours, but simply to a necessity of nature; and the more rapidly the north-western States advance, the more certainly will the tide of commerce and emigration soon pour its golden flood down the noble valley of the St. Lawrence. So argues the Durham Professor.

In manners and in sympathies a marked difference exists between our Provinces and the States; even between Upper Canada and Western New York, which are contiguous and in constant intercourse, this difference is quite apparent, and would no doubt, under any circumstances short of continued madness at headquarters, long continue. 'One feels,' says Mr. Johnston, 'the *de trop*—the tendency to exaggerate—among the men of the one side, obtruding itself sometimes offensively, especially in the newer States of the Union, and among the newer people. An opposite tendency attracts constant notice along the Canadian borders. Both Mr. Johnston and M. Marmier—men as diverse in cast of thought as they are in the country of their birth and their career in life—unite in considering this diversity of temperament as the chief real source of the disaffection in our colonies. Let us hear the French traveller. He has looked at both sides of the picture—has examined both the Provinces and the States: on Lower Canada naturally he has bestowed peculiar care:—

'How is it,' says he, 'that this fine country is not more peopled? How is it that it does not attract those masses of emigrants who unceasingly direct their course to the United States, where already it is not so easy a matter to obtain employment or to purchase land? These are questions which I have often considered without being able fully to resolve them. Often enough have we all been told that no one understands the art of reclaiming land like the American. He is the father of the puffing system [*père du puff*]. It is by *puff*, presented under all forms—in newspapers, in books, on steel, spread throughout every region by agents, officious and official—that he has turned the heads of our brave peasants of Alsace, and of thousands of families in Germany; it is by *puff* that he induces them to quit their paternal parishes for the sake of traversing ocean to till the fields of a distant continent: it is by *puff*, the most active and the most deafening, that he is now peopling the plains of California, until he find some other speculation to trumpet forth by its flourishes. The Canadians as yet know nothing of this dazzling charlatanism. They have not learned to proclaim each morning in their journals, and to repeat incessantly to all comers, that theirs is the country without parallel, the asylum of liberty, the temple of fortune, the Eldorado so celebrated by the voyagers of old. On their part the Americans covet Canada, but they take good care not to sing its praises until it has passed into their hands. Whatever they may now say against it, however, we shall soon see opened from one point to another the lines of communication

cation of which these same Americans are so proud—roads to bind together the villages, canals to unite the great rivers, railways to transport goods and travellers from north to south. From the nature of the soil and the cheapness of materials, railways can be here constructed as cheaply as in the United States. The one, which already reaches St. Hyacinth, and which is to be prolonged to Portland, costs only half a million of francs per league, while in France it would cost double the sum. For myself it gives me pleasure to believe in the future of Canada. I see there a fertile soil which, sooner or later, cannot fail to attract colonies of labourers, and on this soil already an honest people amidst whom it is a comfort to sojourn.'

It will be observed that in the following sentences M. Marmier states of the Lower Canadians precisely what Mr. Johnston has asserted of the inhabitants of the Upper Province:—

'If they have preserved the virtues of their French nature, they have also kept its defects. Mobile and impressionable, they are prompt to enthusiasm, and not less so to despair. They could not see the fortune of their Republican neighbours without envying it; and they thought that if they did but enter the Union, they would immediately open for themselves a road paved with dollars. Hence those everlasting dissertations by a dozen of journals, and those meetings where the same theme is reproduced with inexhaustible emphasis. Very many, however, of those who declaim on this subject do not believe that it is realizable, and use it only as a means of agitation. Who in truth can believe that England will consent not only to dispossess herself of Canada, but to give up this vast country to her maritime rival? Some say that Canada brings in nothing to England—nay, that she is even a source of considerable expense. Were this true, and could we consent to value the dependencies of a great empire merely by the number of crowns they pay into its treasury, it would remain not less true that Canada contributes to enrich the commerce of Great Britain, and is every year becoming a more important point of colonization. Again, even supposing that Britain had not the slightest pecuniary interest in the preservation of that country, she must continue bound to hold by it from a sentiment of national pride; she must feel that she could not abandon it without branding herself with the stamp of feebleness in the face of the whole world, and without levelling a serious blow at her whole imperial system. Lastly, if, in spite of all these considerations, she were to welcome complaisantly the addresses of the Annexationists, there would remain some financial questions which could not fail to be rather embarrassing: one of these being the debt of nearly a million and a half sterling, contracted by Canada; another, all the money that England has expended on the fortress of Quebec, &c., &c., &c., and the repayment of which she would most certainly insist on. Are the United States so much in love with Canada as to take her with all her debts? I hardly think so. And if, while accepting her share of the expenses of the Federal government, Canada found *herself*, moreover, burdened with a private debt

debt of two millions sterling, I do not think her divorce from England, and her union to the American Republic, would set her much at her ease.

‘Those who cry out for annexation use all the arguments which form the stock in trade of revolutionists in all regions—dilapidation of the public funds, bad conduct of officials, neglect of the misery of the people, necessity for a thorough reform in the administration of affairs. There are indeed savings to be effected in the budget of Canada, and considerable reforms to be accomplished in its legislation, which presents a singular mixture of old French customs with portions of the code of England; but in order to effect these objects is it absolutely necessary to have recourse to the republican authority of the United States? Can they not be accomplished gradually by the will of the people through the votes of its Parliament?’

After some discussion of the union of the Provinces, especially the offence it had given the French party by its anticipated effect on their power in parliament, M. Marmier warns his friends that this is but a secondary danger.

‘In Annexation, on the contrary, I see the rapid and radical annihilation of all the remains of French nationality. Whatever resistance the Canadians might offer to the influence of the United States, their primitive manners must be absorbed in the flood of mercantile habits, their language effaced before another. They would become Americans. They would drown themselves in the industrial whirlpool of America, as the waters of their St. Lawrence amid the waves of the ocean. Their religion, against which England has never even lifted a finger, will be turned into derision, harassed, assailed by all those inventors of new doctrines, by all those passionate declaimers who thunder against papal idolatry in the American meetings—by all those sects which, under uncountable names, swarm and multiply in the States. But the Catholic religion is in Canada the keystone of nationality. Without it, adieu to the last vestige which the France of other ages has left in this distant country.’

Mr. Johnston arrives at a similar conclusion. The first movement was made by the French Romanists of the Lower Province, the second by the disgusted Conservatives of Upper Canada.

‘But,’ says he, ‘to neither of these classes would any special good flow from a union with the States. The Roman Catholic body, as a whole, would acquire more power in Congress—and with a view to this end the Romanists in the States may sympathise with and encourage their brethren in Canada to bring about the annexation; but in the Province itself they would certainly dispossess themselves of the position they occupy as the church of Canada East, and they would very much endanger the large landed possessions by which they are at present enriched. Then, as to the Conservative minority in Upper Canada, they would be driven still further from office. As was the case in the States when Jefferson came into power, the democratic element would increase in strength after the change; and a party which,

which, under British rule, did not know how to yield for a time to the overwhelming force of a popular majority constitutionally obtained, would be obliged to take up a new political position very considerably in advance of its past professions, or be content to surrender all hope of materially influencing for the future the affairs of *the new State*.

• Thus, in the Canadas, party animosities and the superior progress of the nearest States are the chief internal sources of danger; but in the valuable province of New Brunswick—according to Professor Johnston—the timber, or ‘lumber,’ trade, has been the great fountain of evil. At first there was an apparently inexhaustible resource in its boundless forests. The cutting of the trees, the haulage and floating of them down the rivers, gave healthy employment to many men; the raising food for these men called agricultural industry into play; the export of the timber employed many vessels and enriched many merchants. But the cutting went on most lavishly, even at low prices; while every year carried the scene of the woodmen’s labours further up the main rivers and into more remote creeks and tributaries,—adding, of course, to the labour of procuring the logs, and their cost when brought to the place of shipping. Despite of the gradual overstocking of the home market, the colonists went on felling trees and building saw-mills, till the general embarrassment became sufficiently alarming. Just at this juncture, in pursuance of our new policy, the Timber Duties Bill of 1846 was passed. This at once brought matters to a climax: countless families were ruined, and the cry of discontent has never since gone down.

Out of the immediate evil the Professor anticipates an ultimate good for New Brunswick. It was, he says, an acknowledged effect of the lumber-trade that, so long as it constituted the leading industry of that province, it overshadowed and lowered the social rank of every other. The lumberer, fond as the Indian of the free air and untrammelled existence of the forest, receiving ample wages, living on the finest flour, and enjoying long seasons of holiday, looked down upon the agricultural drudge who toiled the year long on his few acres with little beyond a comfortable maintenance to show on the credit side. The young and adventurous among the province-born were tempted into what was considered a higher and more manly, as well as a more remunerative line of life; and many of the hardiest immigrants followed their example. A great proportion of the farmers themselves were seduced by the occasionally splendid profits of lumbering—as a lucky hit in a mining country makes crowds of miners; and thus not only was the rising generation largely demoralised by the habits of the woods, but agriculture was neglected, and the farmers very generally involved in difficulties.

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The result of all this had been an extensive emigration to the States, both of farmers and lumberers—many of the former leaving their lands to their creditors without even the form of a sale. Bad as this is, it may, in Mr. Johnston's opinion, have afforded the Province its best chance of returning to a healthy, cheerful, energetic, and prosperous condition. All, he says, that is now required, is that '*the farmers mind their own business.*'

We can by no means adopt the agricultural Professor's evident coldness as to the timber industry of these regions. It seemed right to state fully the conclusions he arrived at as respects New Brunswick; but we must suggest to him that that is only a part of the question. Even in New Brunswick, it would appear from a late petition of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province to the House of Lords that, notwithstanding the severe effects of the Act of 1846, the timber trade had reformed, and to a considerable extent recovered itself. The Act, 'based on the principles of free trade, placed foreign and colonial wood in the British market upon an equality, *taking into consideration the difference of distance and consequently of freight.*' But the British Government have, in the present Session of Parliament, proclaimed their purpose to carry the war against the Colonial wood-interests much further—in short to make such a new reduction in the duties as would leave no margin whatever for the difference of distance and freight between our American ports and the ports of the Baltic. A similar petition, moreover, has been addressed to the House of Lords by the Council of the Quebec Board of Trade; which shows that exactly the same alarm has been excited in *Canada*. Are we really determined to complete the alienation of British North America?

In consequence, no doubt, of this wide-spread discontent, so closely connected, first and last, with the influence of the anti-colonialists in our Home Government, a bill has lately been presented in Congress, declaring the expediency of obtaining by peaceable means the annexation of our Provinces. A formidable symptom of 'pleasant relations!' Yet, in the face of it, we cannot quite overlook the elements of discord and disunion now at work in the Great Republic itself. We have all read enough of the rivalry and antagonism between the States of the South and North, especially in regard to the tariff and slavery questions. Even Mr. Calhoun is said to have been of opinion that the time had arrived when the Confederacy was strong enough to bear dividing into two—and that the interests of the Northern and Southern States were become sufficiently diverse to require it. Since the passing of the Fugitive Slave Bill, the animosity has been doubled. The spectacle of men,
women,

women, and children, who had settled in the Free States as an asylum, dragged away from among them by their pursuing owners, has greatly excited the New Englanders. We read lately in the newspapers of a slave recaptured after five years' freedom; and another case of a female far advanced in pregnancy, whose offspring of course would become the property of her captor. Ten years ago, Lord Carlisle says, there were people who made it the business of their lives to superintend the passage of the runaway slaves through the Free States, and about a thousand negroes yearly thus made their way into Canada. Colonel Cunyngname does not surprise us by stating that the exertions for the escape of slaves have been largely stimulated by the Fugitive Bill; and that the influx of Black immigrants of loose habits into the Provinces was producing every day more and more annoyance to our magistracy and police.

It is true that the hearts of both ends of the Union are still very proud of belonging to a great country so rapidly growing—far too proud to forego this boast without some most serious motive; yet it seems impossible to doubt that the question of 'slavery will ultimately tear asunder the Confederacy. Such a dissolution, Mr. Johnston tells us, was a topic discussed everywhere in the States. Clingman and his followers had already 'brought it up' in Congress as a thing to be expected, were California admitted (as she has been), and other Free State measures adopted; and it will doubtless occur as soon as the States of this class obtain a decided superiority in the Legislature. Of late years their party has been greatly increased by the new Free States that have sprung up in the West. It is alleged that the main impulse to the war with Mexico was given by the desire of the Southerners to regain their equality, by capturing and erecting into slaveholding States the immense territory of Texas—which they have accomplished. It is notorious that the violent opposition to the incorporation of California arose from the anxiety of the South to exclude from Congress, and of the North to admit, the deputies of this great *Free State*.* Indeed this question of Slavery or

* If the leading journal of California expresses the sentiments of the new State, the danger from its admission into the Union as not so imminent as the Southern States suppose; and the resplendent peroration of the following extract ought, as the writer intends, to soothe them:—'For the last fifteen years,' says the *Alta California*, 'in our Northern States there has existed a class, many of them of pure minds and honest desires, but at the same time men whose ideas encompassed but a small space, who in every possible manner have warred against the institution of slavery among their Southern brethren. The action at the North necessarily caused a re-action at the South; and during the stormy times that attended the ushering in to our bright constellation of a sister star sparkling with golden radiance, fanatics of the North and South were busy hurling their revengeful meteors at us, at the constellation of which

or No Slavery lies at the bottom of some of the most vital political moves of the day. It is to rivet their superiority, or at least to form themselves into a powerful dominion, that the Southern States steadily, though cautiously, agitate for the occupation of Cuba;* it is to secure the triumph of the Free system that the North longs for the annexation of Canada. It is not a little due to this opposition of interests that the indolent Dons still hold possession of the Queen of the Antilles; and, after the California debate, it is beyond all question that the voice of the South would be vehemently raised against any attempt to annex the British Provinces.

Although, in theory, the federal compact is a voluntary union of sovereign States, which may be dissolved whenever even one of them thinks its interest will be promoted by the separation; yet, when an emergency arrives, the majority, if large, may be expected to resist such a separation by force of arms. Such, at least, is the common impulse of mankind in like circumstances; and such in fact was the avowed expectation of many even in the Northern States whom Mr. Johnston heard speak upon the subject. 'It amused me,' he says, 'to hear men in one breath talk of annexing Canada and Nova Scotia, and threaten vengeance against the traitor States which should break up the integrity of the Union!' Will there be an armed struggle between the North and South? And if so, may not the exigencies of such a contest demand a Dictator instead of a President—nay, gradually rear up a royalty in the chosen domain of democracy? This is peculiarly probable with respect to the Southern States, both from the naturally aristocratic feelings of the people, and from the greater peril of their position—exposed alike to hostility without and treachery within—to the hatred, open or disguised, of White and Black. Will there be that horror of horrors, a servile war? Profiting by the strife of rival States, will the Negroes battle their way to freedom, and establish an African Government amid the sons of Japhet? Never, in our day, unless aided by the Northerners; and dare the New Englanders fight with such a poisoned

we were a part, and at the glorious sun, our blessed Union, around which we all revolve. But the "fair young form with flashing gems" shining around her brow has taken her seat among the stary sisterhood; and her presence, free, untrammelled, and unprejudiced, must have a soothing effect upon the passions of her separated sisters.'

* Peradventure the grand sable Empire itself is not exempt from danger. 'If Hayti gets into a collision with the United States,' says an American paper, in reference to a recent and perhaps still pending disagreement, 'it will be a serious matter for Faustia, as there are several old scores that will be wiped out at the same time.' The inhabitants of a country are not always of immediate value to a conqueror; but the slave gentry of the Southern States would find a mint of money in St. Domingo.

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arrow? Would it be possible for enlightened and pious advocates of the coloured race to abet them in a warfare which, whatever the other results, must deepen and indefinitely prolong their barbarism?

But serious as are the perils menacing the Confederacy in Eastern America, it has become a matter of grave doubt with many in the States whether the danger of disunion is not now greater on the coasts of the Pacific. Will California and Oregon submit to have their laws made for them so far off as Washington? Will they consent to pay import-duties at these remote spots, not merely for the maintenance of a Federal Government, but for the protection of manufactures in New England? These and other similar questions cannot be long staved off. In a few years, when the Anglo-Saxon population on the Pacific shall have increased, and become somewhat consolidated, a tariff based upon principles not very different from those of Free Trade is an almost inevitable consequence. Among them Free Trade should find its surest home; if *they* repudiate it, it will indeed go a begging on the face of the earth. It is agriculture in old States, or infant manufactures in new ones, which ever repel the alluring phantasm of so-called Reciprocity; and the encouragement of one or both of these interests is felt to be a necessity in every country of the globe. California is the only exception. In it neither agriculture nor manufacture, nor both combined, can claim to be the staple concern. The land there, as everywhere else, is a *raw material*; but it is gold, not grain, that they manufacture out of it. So circumstanced—separated from the other States by interest not less than by distance and the barriers of nature—growing with the rapidity of the gourd and the strength of the oak, California can well stand alone. She will not pay dear for leading-strings, when she can walk in the path of empire with the stride of a giant.

The abrogation of our navigation laws has exposed our mercantile marine to a competition which at present they seem unable to make head against. Foremost are the Americans, who have beat us hollow in the carrying trade with China, who are running us hard on every other line, and who boast that they will speedily supplant us generally, and win from Old England the sceptre of the seas. The excitement on this point is extreme in all the ports of the Union. Mr. Johnston's book bears witness to it; the American papers are full of it; and the interest in the struggle between the two great rivals is as strong, and the Io Pæans for the *coming* triumph as loud, at San Francisco as at New York. Let us gather the spirit of the Californian press on this subject.

ject. The writer of an article entitled 'San Francisco's Future' says :—

'What city can ever arise on the western coast of North America to rival her? Certainly none now having even a nucleus of population and business. There is not a point from Puget's Sound to Cape St. Lucas—we might say to Panamá—which possesses the possibility of ever becoming a rival. . . . Realejo and Panamá can neither be made rivals to us by all the railroads or all the ship-canals that have ever entered the imagination of the most speculative, because of their tropical and unhealthy position. What results? Why, that San Francisco must be the great entrepot of the immense ocean, whither most of its countless keels will tend. The time is coming, too, when it will become the greatest whaling port in the world. With all the fine ports and great cities of Asia it is to have intercourse, and none other can interfere. Men cannot make seaports. Heaven has done this for us; and our beautiful bay cannot, by all the combinations of earth, be despoiled of her position and destiny. We have the population. The Americanized Saxon blood will do it.'

Here is part of an editorial *jubilato* on the sailing of four huge steamers from San Francisco on the 15th of March last:—

'Four ocean-steamers, laden with passengers and treasure! Three years ago, and no steamer had ever puffed her way up or down our coast, or on our rivers; and now we may almost challenge any of the Atlantic cities to exhibit such a spectacle as we shall witness here to-morrow. If we progress in steam navigation *during the year to come* as we have for the year past, we shall have lines of steamers established from San Francisco to the islands of the Pacific, to China, to our whole northern and southern coasts direct, and perhaps to Liverpool.'

Now for their views on 'Commercial Supremacy':—

'In every sea where England had for nearly two hundred years been supreme, she now finds a hardy, bold, and shrewd competitor in the Yankee, who brings his own commodities in his own ships, and offers them at a successful price by the side of hers. The commerce of India aggrandised in turn the Venetians, the Portuguese, and the Dutch. England took it from *them*; and will soon be ready to hand it over to *us*. For here, on the Pacific coast, the Waterloo of Trade is to be fought. We must beat our great competitor with our home products, and coin with those she produces herself. If she chooses to break down our own markets with too great a supply of her manufactured goods, we will use them to undersell her on her own choice preserves in Mexico and South America. We cannot escape our destiny if we would. It will be a struggle of intense interest; but of the result there can be no question. The Yankee, with his clipper ships—his steamers—his enterprise, his skill, his unceasing activity—will defeat his rival; and after establishing a successful trade with all

his neighbours on the coast, he will then see open before him that *great Oriental trade* which has contributed so much to the proud commercial supremacy of Britain.'

The news from California (besides the usual catalogue of destructive fires) shows that the country is still in a most disorderly state. The executive is too weak for the lawless bands with which it has to deal; and the increase of crime is attributed partly to the influx of escaped convicts from our Australian colonies. That the people are horror-struck by the frequency of robberies and assassinations is evidenced by the fact that Lynch-law has been established in several districts. Among the victims of this summary jurisprudence the case of an Englishman has excited a newspaper controversy—it being alleged by some (probably private friends, however) that he would not have been so treated but for the prejudice against him as a native of the Old Country. The mines continue very productive; but the operations are impeded by the Indian tribes, who have of late taken every opportunity to massacre detached parties.* Several bodies of the State troops and of volunteers had moved upon the scene of these violences. Conferences had been opened with the Indians; but attacks were still occurring, and we expect that the next mails will bring bloody tidings from the foot-hills of the Sierra Nevada. If the Californian volunteers once get into warfare, the Indians will meet with no mercy; there will be *razzias* as complete as any made by the 'moving columns' of Bugeaud or Changarnier. The hunters of the Far West, and indeed the whole frontier-men of the States, care as little for the life of a Redskin as for that of a buffalo. And to all appearance the time is not far distant when the aborigines of America will have vanished, like a heaven-doomed race, from the face of the earth. What a theme for reflection is this annihilation of races!—an annihilation to which the archæology of almost every land bears witness. Over the corpses of his predecessors the Anglo-Saxon is now striding forward; and the death-bell is ringing for the old denizens of the Australian and American worlds.

Not even excepting the wild, demoralising life of the gold-seeker, the greatest social evil at present afflicting the Californians is the scarcity of females. Those persons are wrong who see in the relation of the sexes in the United States only an imitation of French gallantry. It is the natural result of this scarcity. For two hundred years a tide of emigration, chiefly male, has been flowing from Europe to America; and in the three years 1847, 1848, 1849, an excess of no less than 142,000 men thus entered the States, bringing in as many extra competitors for the hands of the native-born women. As these emigrants spread themselves

themselves over the land, the unmarried females among them are picked up before they have proceeded far from the sea-board; and thus the scarcity increases the farther westward we go; and the value at which they are estimated by the men and by themselves rises, till, in the Far West, they attain a famine price—and there we have the paradise of women. The same cause has operated in the opposite way among ourselves. The thousands of our native youth who emigrate, never to return, leave behind a superfluity of the other sex. And thus, as in the time of Medea, if a woman has not wherewithal to buy a husband—beauty, fortune, connexions—she must wear out her unsought affections in an unvalued and perhaps laborious life. *Utrum horum?**

Not to mention weightier matters deeply influencing national morals—if the American ladies turn up their noses at the general submissiveness (*servility* they call it) of their sisters of England, we think it would not be difficult to point out frailties, perhaps less amiable, among themselves. Their freedom from parental restraint borders too closely on rebellion; and their greater self-reliance and absence of reserve exposes them, especially in large cities, to dangers from which our women are comparatively exempt. Moreover ‘spoilt beauties,’ or non-beauties, are more common, in proportion to the female population, than with us; and sought after, courted, and indulged as they are, this is not to be wondered at. But it is of material importance in the choice of a wife. Not merely do the rude but simple-hearted trappers of the Far West prefer a Taos girl, or other of Spanish stock, to the delicate and over-nice fair ones of the States, but, as Mr. Johnston reports, the very Yankees in the St. Lawrence districts hold a somewhat similar opinion. ‘I’ll go over to Canada for a wife, when I marry,’ said a young south-shore farmer to his friend. ‘When I come home at night she’ll have a nice blazing fire on, and a clean kitchen, and a comfortable supper for me: but if I marry a New-Yorker, it’ll be, when I come home, John, go down to the well for some water; or, John, go and bring some logs to put on the fire, to boil the kettle. No, no; a Canadian woman’s the wife for me.’

This greater influence of the female sex will not be without good fruits for the humbler orders throughout America, if it bar

* The decennial census of the population of Glasgow, just published, shows that the females exceed the males in that city by more than *sixteen thousand*. In Edinburgh, the excess of females in the Old Town is $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; in the New there are actually 154 women for every 100 men! In Limerick the disproportion is still more extraordinary, there being only 16,000 men to 28,000 women, or nearly two females to each male. We have taken these cases at random; but they are important, as showing the actual ratio in the two great cities of Scotland, as well as in a principal seaport town of Ireland.

out one frightful abuse which prevails among the working classes in this country. 'It has been computed (says Mr. Johnston) that, among those whose earnings are from 10*s.* to 15*s.* weekly, at least one-half is spent by the man upon objects (tobacco, spirits, &c.) in which the other members of the family have no share. Among artisans earning from 20*s.* to 30*s.* weekly, it is said that at least one-third of the amount is in many cases thus selfishly devoted.' American society may consent to many inconveniences, if it can save itself from the spread among its skilled labourers of such habits as these.

In the face of this dearth and high estimation of the female sex, behold a strange contrast springing up within the Republican borders. The Mormons, amidst the Christianity of the Far West, are reproducing the polygamism of the East. Nay, worse—far worse; for no man in the world surpasses the Mussulman in the jealousy with which he regards the honour of his women, but little of such a feeling is to be found among the promiscuous hive of the Mormonites. Their 'exhorters,' professing the most pious adhesion to the doctrines of the Gospel, claim liberties which justified Luther in giving to kindred sinners of old their priestly name of 'fathers.' Yet the sect is fast increasing; and it is mortifying to learn that most numerous accessions are daily made to it from this country. From Liverpool alone the known Mormon emigrants have amounted to about 15,000; and they have, on the whole, been superior to, and better provided than, the other classes of emigrants. 'Under the name of Latter-Day Saints,' says Mr. Johnston, 'the delusions of the system are hidden from the masses by the emissaries who have been dispatched into various countries to recruit their numbers among the ignorant and devoutly-inclined lovers of novelty. Who can tell what two centuries may do in the way of giving an historical position to this rising heresy?'

Their practices excited uncontrollable disgust wherever they first congregated; and even 'universal toleration' could not shield them from its effects. Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, wild as they are, would have nothing to do with them; and after various struggles and combats, their chief, Joe Smith, and some of his profligate 'saints,' were killed 'right off' by the incensed populace of the last-named State. The rest then betook themselves 'right off;' and after traversing the wide prairies, the deserts of the Far West, and the Rocky Mountains, they finally pitched their tents near the Great Salt Lake in Oregon. Here they increase and multiply, in the midst of a vast champaign, running north and south for hundreds of miles, isolated by sandy deserts or the briny lake, separated from the elder States by the Rocky Mountains, from
California

California by the Sierra Nevada; and here they are building their Cities of the Plain. Their position—an entrepôt, midway on the overland route to California—must of itself ensure importance. Already they have a place on the map, and are striving after higher honours. They form the nucleus of the new dominion of Utah, this year erected into an independent territory of the Great Republic, 'and placed by the President under the orders of Governor Young, Chief of this Sect.'—(*Cunyngname*, p. 134.) This Utah, all reporters agree, is likely, in the very next session of Congress, to be elevated to the dignity of a sovereign State. 'So rapidly (says Mr. Johnston) has persecution helped on this offspring of ignorance, and tended to give a permanent establishment, and a bright future, to a system not simply of pure invention, but of blasphemous impiety and folly the most insane.' The strange sight will soon be seen of Mormon deputies at Washington, shaming Christendom with their retinue of women. What will the proud fair of the Western States say then? Unless the wild Missourians remember their old grudge, and intercept the polygamous cavalcade by their favourite tar-and-feathers, there is no help for it. Each State can make what social laws it pleases, and these laws must be tolerated throughout the rest of the Union; so that the Utah deputies may parade their harem through the streets of Washington, 'none daring to make them afraid;' and may recover a runaway wife (if they think it worth while), by means of the public authorities, in the same way as if she were a fugitive slave.

To return to our own provinces—Mr. Johnston's remarks upon the present condition of the descendants of the original French settlers in Lower Canada and New Brunswick, though scattered over different parts of his work, are worth collating from their clearness and discrimination. In language, habits, feelings, and religion, they are little changed since the day when Wolf won Quebec—except that, according to all calm witnesses, time has softened the animosity of the vanquished to their conquerors. Inhabiting a pre-eminently healthy country, where there is not an ague even among the forests and marshes, and possessed of that cheerful *insouciance* so favourable to the vital functions, they marry early and multiply rapidly. At Kamouraska Mr. Johnston stopped to get a fresh horse and carriage, and on starting (doubtless knowing a Frenchman's foible), expressed to the new *cocher* his admiration of his pretty young wife, and inquired her age. 'One-and-twenty.' 'And how long have you been married?' 'Six years—and she was a widow when I married her.' Fourteen and fifteen is a common age for the marriage of females, and eighteen for males, on the shores of the St. Lawrence. And the women continue prolific to a comparatively

paratively advanced period of life. 'My driver,' says Mr. Johnston in another place, 'was one of fourteen children—was himself the father of fourteen, and assured me that from eight to sixteen was the usual number of the farmers' families. He even named one or two women who had brought their husbands five-and-twenty, and threatened *le vingt-sixième pour le prêtre!* [This alludes to the allotment of a twenty-sixth part of the produce of the land to the priests.] I expressed my surprise at these large families. 'Oui, Monsieur,' said he, 'vous avez raison. Nous sommes terribles pour les enfants.' The result is, there are added to this fertile population *four persons for every one* added to that of England.

Lower Canada presents perplexing diversities; and among these are the various modes of holding land. The country is laid out in townships and seignories—the tenure in the former being by *socage* (*i. e.*, free, by grant or purchase from the Crown)—in the latter, *en fief* from the seigneurs. These free and feudal settlements intermingle, yet differ totally from each other in religion, habits, systems of agriculture, style of houses, and partially also in their laws—almost everything being British in the townships and French in the seignories. The lands held in feudal tenure were almost all granted before our conquest, and amount to about nine million acres; those in socage extend to about seven million acres, only half of which have now been granted off. The remainder of the province is known as the Waste Lands of the Crown—all liable to be granted either in feudal or socage tenure at the pleasure of the sovereign. The population of the townships is still small in proportion to that of the whole province, but is rapidly increasing; and, though hitherto with little success, every inducement is held out for the gradual conversion of the feudal into the socage tenure. It is a remarkable thing to find feudalism still existing, and on a large scale, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and in the liberty-loving regions of the New World. England respected it when she conquered Canada; and, after all, it is not even now without its advantages. It is favourable to the reclaiming of the country, and makes it easy for the poor and the young to establish themselves in life. All that a young *habitant* has to do is to go to his seigneur and ask his permission (which is never refused) to settle on some portion of unoccupied land, and thenceforward a small annual rent is all that is required of him, and he becomes the legitimate possessor of the ground he farms. In Canada feudalism has lost all its repulsive features.

'Though seigneurs exist there,' says M. Marmier, 'they have
neither

neither serfs nor vassals. The seigneur transmits his titles and rights to his eldest son. He has a reserved seat in the church; the priest presents him with the holy water, and recommends him and his family to the prayers of the faithful, according to the old customs of France. But his annual rents, remaining at the same rate as in the seventeenth century, are of little value. He indeed gathers also a *fee* (one-twelfth of the price) upon each sale or exchange of land within his seignory; and this becomes considerable when the land is cultivated and houses have been erected upon it. These dues, however, the seigneurs are reducing, out of respect to the altered circumstances of the times. Thus the Seminary of St. Sulpice, which is seigneur of the Isle of Montreal, and whose original right would now produce a revenue quite enormous, has successively lowered its rate of charge, and is every day making new concessions. Nevertheless, as this reduction is not compulsory, and as some seigneurs have declined to grant it, much dissatisfaction is arising, and the demagogues are demanding the total overthrow of the seignorial edifice. Their clamours have already resounded more than once within the walls of Parliament. Certainly they will not succeed, at least not soon, in accomplishing their act of demolition, for they could not, in common justice, despoil the seigneurs of their rights without giving them an indemnity,—and that would be no small affair. But it is probable that, in next session, the Ministry will bring in a bill for establishing a regular tariff of dues on the succession to property.

Few travellers make any mention of these seigneurs. Several of them, we believe, are now the sole representatives of once eminent families of French noblesse. The most are understood to have no such heraldic claims. In a pamphlet published a good many years ago, the Right Hon. Sir George Rose, formerly our minister at Washington, gave some curious details as to their *titles*—which seem to have been largely manufactured out of the *regimental nicknames* of the bold dragoons sent out as settlers by Louis Quatorze, and accompanied, under his paternal orders, by helpmates collected from off the streets of Paris by his lieutenant of police. The present titularies—whether real old nobles, or only *Marquesses de Rouge-Béc*, *Barons de L'Isle d'Amour*, and so forth—seem to be almost invisible. We find in the books before us but one distinct notice of them, namely, where M. Marmier speaks of '*deux aristocratiques habitations*' at St. Hyacinthe on the Samaska.

'This village,' he says, 'is the chief place of a seignery *twenty-three leagues in extent*, belonging to an agreeable young man who has travelled much in Europe, and brought back with him a liberal mind and varied information. I could have believed myself in a *salon* of Paris, from the aspect of the works of art with which he has surrounded himself. But what resembles in nothing our dear country is the prospect which spreads out beneath his windows—the
rustic

rustic banks of the Samaska, the immense silent plain, dotted with sombre woods cut only on one side by the faint blue heights of Belluïl, and spreading away to the north like a shoreless sea. M. de S—— has for neighbour a proprietor wealthy and well informed, at whose house I spent a pleasant evening, listening to two children, fresh and rosy as two strawberries of the woods, who sang, to the accompaniment of the piano, Canadian melodies and the simple wild songs of the forest.

By a Royal ordonnance of 1745 houses were forbidden to be erected on farms of less extent than one acre and a half in front and forty in depth; but, though Canada had been ours long before the Revolution, its principles as to division of property have been in practice very largely adopted among the French population. The right of primogeniture is no longer binding; and in many cases, instead of leaving the home-farm to the eldest, the family of sons parcel it among themselves. Four sons will divide a possession of two arpents in front, and thirty or forty backwards, into four long stripes of half an arpent broad in front, and thirty or forty in length. Thus the evils attendant upon the original bad shape of the farms become manifold increased; the *morcellement* proceeds, in some localities, as rapidly as in so many districts of France and Belgium; and the poverty of the people advances in proportion. It is the exact counterpart of the subdivision into long stripes which has led to such woful results among the subtenantry in Ireland—a similar Celtic population.

Such a subdivision, followed by the building of houses along the roadside upon each lot, has great effect in adding to the apparent populousness. Continuous rows of houses, separated by one or two intervening fields, accompany you for miles of journey. In fact, wherever the country is fully settled, this is the case—unless the traveller happens to turn up a cross-road, when a couple of miles may occasionally be passed without meeting with a farmer's house. This peculiar arrangement of the farms—adopted at first to concentrate the resources of the young colony, and to provide against the attacks of the Indians—has been adhered to, no doubt, from that love of society for which the French population are remarkable, alike in Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. But such a system is very adverse to agricultural improvement. 'The amount of labour, both for men and horses,' says Mr. Johnston, 'is much increased by placing the centre of operations and the home of the labourers, and stock at the extremity of these stripes; and the difficulty is greater in properly superintending the farm. Separated more widely from each other, too, they might possibly gossip less and labour more.'

In many places the outward resemblance of this people to our poorer Irish is very striking. The broken panes in the windows are stuffed with old hats, and the clothes of the peasantry often in tatters. The smart French character of not a few modern houses, whitened over with quicklime, suggests a growing aversion to live in the old Celtic filth;—even these more inviting abodes, however, are within anything but clean and comfortable—according to our notions; and then, what is Irish enough, the new taste for this kind of display too often leads the farmer to spend upon a dwelling what he must raise by a mortgage upon his acres—in the upshot losing both house and land, and compelled to begin the world anew in a log-house. Though comparatively uneducated, they are ready-witted; and in morals, all writers assign them a high place. Robbery and violence are unknown among them—even theft is almost unheard of. They are modest and simple-hearted; and owing probably to the practice of early marriages, the sexual licence, too prevalent in France, is here altogether absent. They are an easy, gay, goodnatured race. They never seek employment abroad so long as they have a barrel of flour in the house; and when hired they are not to be depended upon as servants. A trifle will take them away from their work—and so many church-holidays interfere with it—for they are all zealous Roman Catholics—that British settlers rarely retain them unless when no other *helps* are to be had, or when they are willing to bind themselves to regular attendance, despite of their Saints' days.

These are not men able to cope with the sturdy Anglo-Saxon in the great battle of life; and wherever the two races are intermingled the French go to the wall. At Belledune, for instance, the present settlers are Ayrshire men, though all this coast was not long since extensively occupied by the French. These canny Scots have their wits about them wherever 'Johnny Crapaud' happens to possess good or easily improvable land. His thoughtlessness and improvidence give them too many opportunities of buying him out; and the *habitans* are fast retiring into the interior.

'With all this,' says Mr. Johnston, 'the French are the most cheerful people in this country; and one cannot mix with them without feeling that their easy contentment may possibly be more productive of positive worldly happiness than the restless, discontented, striving, burning energy of their neighbours.'

Mr. Johnston, like most other travellers in the United States, was struck with the gravity and decorum with which public discussions are there usually carried on, and the complete apparent self-possession of the speakers. Our insular nervousness is a thing
unknown

unknown to the American republican. Acknowledging no higher rank than his own, and naturally thinking his own opinion the right one, he expresses his sentiments with a confident frankness, which among us is only the result of long training. Partly also, says Mr. Johnston, it is to be attributed to the undisciplined and uncontrolled way in which children are brought up; and he gives the following little anecdote in illustration:—

‘A friend of mine had a boy of twelve or thirteen years employed in his office to run messages. This boy several times brought me notes, and while waiting for an answer, he would walk first to one table and examine the books and papers, then to another and do the same; and, finally, to the mirror and arrange his hair in the coolest manner imaginable. I was amused with this for one or two visits. At last I said to him that in my country we did not approve of little errand-boys taking such liberties and showing so much conceit when they came into a gentleman’s rooms; and I requested that when he came in future he would sit down quietly till I wrote an answer. The boy was amazed, but was very respectful ever after. His master told me nothing had ever mortified him so much, and at the same time done him so much good; but, when I asked why he had never set the boy right himself, he gave me no reply. On telling the matter to an American lady of my acquaintance, however, she asked me immediately—“Were you not afraid to speak to the boy in that way? That boy may be President of the United States yet.” “And what then?” “Why, he might do you a great deal of harm.” It was now my turn to look amazed. It is not a persuasion that it is best for the boy which restrains reproof, but a fear that it may be worse for the reprover. This fear of one another, I was assured by various persons, amounts often to a species of tyranny throughout this Union.’

This mode of training the young is one of the most important of the social and domestic traits by which the United States are distinguished from our own homes, and from most, if not all, of our colonies. What would even the ancient republics of Greece and Rome have thought of such a ‘running wild’ of children? How would Cato or Cicero have stood aghast at the following anecdote, narrated to Mr. Johnston by a friend?—

‘A settler of many years at Dalhousie, a shoemaker by trade, had saved 500*l.* in money, and had five or six boys growing up, when he took it into his head to go off to Wisconsin. Six months after his departure, a small vessel from Quebec entered the harbour of Dalhousie, and, when evening came on, a depressed-looking man in shabby clothing landed and walked up to my house. I was surprised to recognise my old neighbour the shoemaker. “You are surprised,” he said; “but though I was a fool to go away, I have had courage enough to come back. When I had got to Wisconsin, my boys—who had been good boys here—began to neglect their work and dis-

regard

regard me. I durst not correct them, sir, or I should have been mobbed. They soon learned this, and my authority was gone. My heart was sore—my money was melting away—my children were a sorrow instead of a comfort to me, and talked of starting for themselves. I sold off and came down to Canada. "Now, my boys," says I, "I have got you under the British flag again, and we'll have no more rebellion." So I kept my boys in hand—but we didn't get on as we used to do—and at last I determined to come back to Dalhousie. What's the world to me, sir, if my boys are to be a vexation to me? But I haven't a penny of money; and our clothing is so scanty that I am ashamed to bring them all ashore in daylight.

The independence of behaviour produced by the doctrine of perfect individual equality shows itself sometimes in very amusing ways:—

'I was told at Boston,' says Mr. Johnson, 'of a gentleman in the neighbourhood, who, having engaged a farm-servant, found him very satisfactory in all respects, except that he invariably came into the house, and even into his master's room, with his hat on. "John," he said to him one day, "you always keep your hat on when you come into the house." "Well, sir, haven't I a right to?" "Yes, I suppose you have." "Well, if I have a right to, why shouldn't I?" This was a poser. After a moment's reflection he shrewdly asked, "Now, John, what'll you take—how much more wages will you ask—to take your hat off when you come in?" "Well, that requires consideration, I guess." "Take the thing into consideration then, and tell me to-morrow morning." The morrow comes. "Well, John, have you considered?" "Well, sir, I guess it's worth a dollar a month." "It's settled then, John, you shall have another dollar a month;" and the gentleman retained a good servant, while John's hat was always in his hand when he entered the house in future. So works democracy. The Kentucky people cast in the teeth of the Bostonians that they worship the almighty dollar. At all events, even in a democracy, the stiffest has his price, and wealth cannot be deprived of a certain amount of influence.'

'Travelling much in the stage-coaches,' says Lord Carlisle, 'I found it amusing to sit by the different coachmen, who were generally youths from the Eastern States, pushing their way in life, and full of fresh and racy talk. One of them, who probably came from New York—where they do not like to use the word *master* in speaking of their employers, but prefer an old Dutch name, *boss*—said to me, "I suppose the Queen is your boss now?"'

This Lecture is a model of what a discourse on such a subject, delivered to a popular assembly, should be. It is a series of pictures—or *etchings*—clear and compendious, of the leading men and leading places in America, and evinces at once delicacy of observation and the gentlest and kindest heart. From a production

so widely circulated we must borrow but sparingly. Here is a masterly sketch from the rail.

‘From Albany to Utica the railroad follows the stream of the Mohawk, which recalls the name of the early Indian dwellers in that bright valley, still retaining its swelling outline of wood-covered hills, but gay with prosperous villages and busy cultivation. I was perhaps still more struck the next evening, though it was a more level country, where the railway passes in the midst of the uncleared or clearing forest, and suddenly bursts out of a pine glade or cedar swamp into the heart of some town, probably four, three, or two years old, with tall white houses, well-lighted shops, billiard-rooms, &c.; and emerging, as we did, from the dark shadows into the full moonlight, the wooden spires, domes, and porticos of the infant cities looked every bit as if they had been hewn out of the marble quarries of Carrara. I am aware that it is not the received opinion—but there is something both in the outward aspect of this region and the general state of society accompanying it which to me seemed eminently poetical. What can be more striking or stirring, despite the occasional rudeness of the forms, than all this enterprise, energy, and life, welling up in the desert? At the towns of Syracuse, of Auburn, and of Rochester, I experienced the sort of feeling which takes away one’s breath; the process seemed actually going on before one’s eyes, and one hardly knows whether to think it as grand as the *Iliad*, or as quaint as a harlequin farce.’

Take this a specimen of the town-pictures.

‘I took up my winter quarters at New York. I thought this, the commercial and fashionable, though not the political capital of the Union, a very brilliant city. To give the best idea of it, I should describe it as something of a fusion between Liverpool and Paris—crowded quays, long perspectives of vessels and masts, bustling streets, gay shops, tall white houses, and a clear brilliant sky overhead. There is an absence of solidity in the general appearance, but in some of the new buildings they are successfully availing themselves of their ample resources in white marble and granite. At the point of the Battery, where the long thoroughfare of Broadway, extending some miles, pushes its green fringe into the wide harbour of New York, with its glancing waters and graceful shipping, and the limber, long raking masts, which look so different from our own, and the soft swelling outline of the receding shores; it has a special character and beauty of its own. I spent about a month here very pleasantly; the society appeared to me, on the whole, to have a less solid and really refined character than that of Boston, but there is more of animation, gaiety, and sparkle in the daily life. In point of hospitality, neither could outdo the other.’

The rapid growth of New York and other cities of America is a leading topic with all travellers; and we are in the habit of hearing so much of this, that we are apt to forget what is doing nearer us. Our Transatlantic cousins, justly proud and delighted
with

with their progress, and above troubling themselves with investigating the causes of it, make each other believe that they stand alone as an innately energetic people. Moreover, ninety-nine out of every hundred of our emigrants know little or nothing of their native kingdom beyond the locality in which they have been brought up, and generally nothing more than the outside appearance of that; so that when they cross the Atlantic everything is as new and wonderful to them as London or Birmingham would be if they had been taken to these cities, instead, and they very soon gratify all they talk to by agreeing that what they have not seen does not exist, and 'that there is nothing equal to this in the Old Country.' To such persons it is of no consequence that fifty physiologists assert that the Anglo-Saxon race degenerates in America, and that it cannot be kept up beyond its natural region without constant accessions of new blood. They point to New York as a fact worth a dozen theories. But the growth of this city proves nothing on the general subject—it is a testimony to the energy of its actual inhabitants, but nothing more. As the Atlantic port of an interior country of great extent and vast promise, New York has certainly attracted many native-born Americans to settle within its bounds for the purposes of traffic; but it is from this side of the Atlantic that its main increase has been drawn. Every manufacturing district in Europe, and every large commercial port, has sent its agencies and branch establishments with similar trading objects; so that, during these sixty years, New York may be said to have been built up by Europe rather than by the exertions of America herself.

The progress in population of Glasgow and New York, says Mr. Johnston, is represented by the following decennial returns:—

	1800-1.	1820-1.	1830-1.	1840-1.	1845.	1850.
Glasgow,	77,000	147,043	202,426	282,134	—	367,800
New York,	60,489	123,706	203,007	312,710	371,102	Probably 400,000

'These numbers show that, without any of the advantages of an enormous transit-trade, Glasgow has in a remarkable degree kept pace with New York. During the first thirty years of the century, New York barely gained upon it the original difference of 17,000 souls. During the last twenty, its comparative progress has been more rapid. But then *two-fifths of the New York population are foreigners born, and they and their families make up more than half the inhabitants.* Both cities, it is true, have been almost equally indebted to immigration, but—except the low Irish who have been drifted into both cities, and who are an incubus rather than an aid, and far from being an element of progress—Glasgow is peopled wholly by native-born Scotch. This city, therefore, may be regarded as a true testimony to the enterprise and perseverance of the people who inhabit the western Lowlands of Scotland. It is far more wonderful, as the result of half a century

a century of exclusively home exertion, than the rapid rise of New York is, or than that of any other American city in which I have been.

'The inland city of Birmingham with its suburbs is not less an illustration of native energy. Since the beginning of the century its progress has been as follows:—

1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	1841.	1851.
73,670	85,755	100,722	116,986	220,000	300,000

It does not equal either Glasgow or New York in size—but its growth, in the centre of an inland district, through the instrumentality of native-born talent working upon native mineral productions, leaves no doubt as to the physiological question of the inherent energy of the home-born who inhabit it.

The value of immigrants to America may be judged of by the fact that, assuming each to bring with him only 10*l.*, this, for the 200,000 who yearly land at New York alone, makes an annual addition of two millions sterling to the money capital of the country. Then a single year's labour of these 200,000 in agricultural operations upon new land, must add at least 5*l.* a-head, or another million to the capital of the new States; while the increased consumption of imported articles, by the added population, augments the *federal revenue*, which is—and in spite of our preaching and practice will continue to be—derived from the duties levied upon imports.

It is Europe, therefore, that is the main-spring of the wondrous growth of the United States—European capital, European hands, and European energy. The revolts, revolutions, and proscriptions of the Continent, and the bitter discontents and overflowing population of these our islands, are the life and aggrandizement of the Great Republic. New emigrants are not mere additions to its stock of labour and capital; they consist of, or at least comprehend, those daring and resolute, if not always prudent spirits, who are driven from disturbed, or who voluntarily leave more peaceful countries. Thus, a stream of select men is constantly flowing from Europe, by whose audacious activity the filling up of the vast western continent is hurried forward, its material resources developed, and, by the sacrifice of many foreign lives, the first difficulties of settling it overcome. 'If all the native-born Americans,' says Mr. Johnston, 'not being the sons or grandsons of Europeans, were to sit down and fold their hands and go to sleep, the progress of the country would scarcely be a whit less rapid, so long as peace between America and Europe is maintained.' But disturb by the signals of war the now undreaded navigation of the Atlantic, and this stream of brave hearts is arrested. Thenceforward the population, like that of European States, will augment by a natural increase of tamer men only.

The superfluous mind of other countries, the greater force of character which is produced by the breaking up of home associations, and by the excitement of a new world, as well as the influence of its example on the minds and character of the native-born, will all be lost. The great breadth of unsettled land would then, like the forests and plains of Russia and Poland, rather indicate what the country *might* become, than what, within any assignable time, it is likely to be.

Another set of facts is properly dwelt upon by the same writer. Of all quarters of the Union, the New England States, it is well known, receive the greatest influx of British settlers, and in character and habits approach most closely to the old country; and it is precisely by these restless New Englanders that the political, religious, and educational institutions of the great northern and western States are mainly influenced.

‘The emigrants who go out from Europe—the raw bricks for the new State buildings—are generally poor; and for the most part indifferently educated. Being strangers to the institutions of the country, and to their mode of working, and, above all, being occupied in establishing themselves, the rural settlers have little leisure or inclination to meddle with the direct regulation of public affairs for some years after they have first begun to hew their farms out of the solitary wilderness. The New Englanders come in to do this. The west is an outlet for their superfluous lawyers, their doctors, their ministers of various persuasions, their newspaper editors, their bankers, their merchants, and their pedlars. All the professions and influential positions are filled up by them. They are the movers in all the public measures that are taken in the organization of State governments, and the establishment of county institutions; and they occupy most of the legislative, executive, and other official situations, by means of which the State affairs are at first carried on. Thus the west presents an inviting field to the ambitious spirits of the east; and through their means the genius and institutions of the New England States are transplanted and diffused, and determine, in a great measure, those of the more westerly portions of the union.’

This paragraph helps to explain the phenomenon which of all others most astonishes the stranger—viz. the ‘power of absorption’ of the American character. Suppose a skilful chemist throwing five or six different ingredients into his crucible, and mingling and crushing them until he extracts one homogeneous essence, and we have an apt image of the moral and intellectual chemistry which is continually acting upon the population of the States. Its founders came from England, but ever since it has been receiving recruits from almost every country of Europe. Scotland, Ireland, Wales, France, Germany, the mountains of Switzerland, and the shores of the Baltic, nay, even distant and isolated Russia herself

herself—all have sent out representatives as to a congress of the nations. At first this agglomeration proceeded slowly and by small detachments, but now it annually consists of whole armies of artisans and tillers of the ground, and of thousands upon thousands of families.

'All these foreigners,' says M. Marmier, 'carry out with them their particular predilections and prejudices.' At first the character of the American does not charm them—they are disagreeably surprised by his habits. They resolve to keep aloof from him, to live apart with their own countrymen, to preserve upon that distant continent the manners of their native land—and in their mother tongue they energetically protest that they never will become Americans. Vain is the project! useless the protestation! The American atmosphere envelopes them, and by its constant action weakens their recollections, dissolves their prejudices, decomposes their primitive elements. Little by little, by insensible modifications, they change their views and mode of living, adopt the usages and language of the Americans, and end by being absorbed in the American nation, as are the streamlets from the valleys in the great rivers that bear them onward to the ocean. How many are the honest Germans, who, after cursing the rudeness of American manners, and bitterly regretting their good kindly Fatherland, have come at last to stick their hat, Yankee fashion, on the back of their head, to stiffen themselves, like the Yankee, in a coat buttoned up to the chin, to disdain all the rules of European courtesy, and to use no other language but the consecrated dialect of business!

This blending of the nations, this assimilation to one standard of so many different human tribes, bears certainly an unimpeachable testimony to the energy of the race which thus superinduces upon others its own characteristics. Brief as our limits compel us to be, we cannot quit this most remarkable phenomenon of American society without giving a few sentences of Lord Carlisle's, which contribute somewhat more to its elucidation. Amidst all their vaunted equality, he says, 'there is a more implicit deference to custom among the Americans, a more passive submission to what is assumed to be the public opinion of the day or hour, than would be paralleled in many aristocratic or even *despotic* communities.'

'This quiet acquiescence in the prevailing tone, this complete abnegation of individual sentiment, is naturally most perceptible in the domain of politics; but I thought that it also in no inconsiderable degree pervaded the social circle, biased the decisions of the judicial bench, and even infected the solemn teachings of the pulpit. To this source may probably in some measure be traced the remarkable similarity in the manners, deportment, conversation, and tone of feeling, which has so generally struck travellers. Who that has seen can ever forget the slow and melancholy silence of the couples who walk arm-in-arm to the tables of the great hotel, or of the unsocial groups who

gather round the greasy meats of the steam-boat, lap up the five minutes' meal, come like shadows, so depart? One of their able public men made an observation to me, which struck me as pungent, and perhaps true—that it was probably the country in which there was less misery and less happiness than in any other of the world.'

In regard to the physiological conjecture that the Anglo-Saxon race does, and ever will, 'degenerate in the New World, all that we can gather from casual remarks in Mr. Johnston's book is confirmatory of the supposition. Take even provinces which lie nearly in the same latitude with us, and whose climate, of all others, most nearly resembles our own. A European landing in Halifax is pleased to see the fresh and blooming complexions of the females of all classes, and we may say of almost all ages; he will scarcely believe that in stepping from England to Nova Scotia he has reached a climate, which bears heavier upon young looks and female beauty than our own. On this side the Atlantic it is in countries which, like Great Britain, Ireland, and Holland, are surrounded by an atmosphere rarely arid or dry, either from excessive cold or excessive heat, but which, more or less loaded with moisture, always softens and expands the skin, that health and freshness of complexion in both sexes is most conspicuous and most permanent. A similar phenomenon is more or less evident in mountainous districts, from the fogs and rains which so frequently visit them; and it is doubtless to the analogous climate of Nova Scotia, and other parts of the North American coast lying within the influence of the Gulf Stream, that the healthy looks of the people are mainly to be ascribed. Yet even here it seems to be the fact that, as a general rule, British-born settlers succeed better than the natives. And why? 'I could not help remarking,' says Mr. Johnston, 'that, in New Brunswick as a whole, the regularly settled inhabitants did not appear to work so hard as the same classes do at home.' 'No doubt,' he says when in another place, 'there must be some truth in the statement' (which he met with everywhere) 'that the sons and grandsons of British settlers do not display the same energy as their emigrant fathers.' 'Here, too,' he adds in a third district, 'the praise of superior industry and perseverance was awarded to the emigrant. This opinion from the mouths of natives is certainly very provoking, since I can sincerely say, after a very long tour in the province, that, in my opinion, a finer looking body of yeomanry is not to be seen in any part of the world. The first provincial-born generation shoots up tall and handsome men and women, pleasant to look upon. It may be that the more slender form is inclined less to steady labour, and that with the bodily figure the habits and tempers of the descendants of industrious settlers

settlers change also. But where men are subjected to so many new influences as they are in this new country, it is very difficult to specify or distinguish how much of any observed change of habits is due to each.

When speaking of the 'gloomy unsociableness' of the *tables d'hôte* in the States, Mr. Johnston has some observations which may be considered in connexion with the foregoing:—

'Whether this silence at table and rapidity of meals be a cause of indigestion, or a consequence of disease arising from other causes, it is certain that diseases of the digestive organs, and deaths from such diseases, are much more frequent in the United States than they are in Great Britain. This is very strikingly shown by the following numbers, which represent the average cases of disease and death from disease of the digestive organs in every thousand inhabitants in the two countries:—

	Diseases.	Deaths
United States . .	526	14
Great Britain . .	95	$\frac{1}{2}$

More than one-half the population appear to be affected by such diseases in the United States, and less than one-tenth in Great Britain; and while fourteen out of every thousand die of such disease in North America, only one in two thousand actually dies of it in our island.

'If half the population be subject to a disease which, more than almost any other, interferes with bodily comfort and equability of temperament—which creates a restlessness and nervous irritability that is scarcely to be laid asleep—it must have a most powerful influence upon the habits and general character of the whole people. The prevailing nervous temperament of the New Englanders is ascribed by some of my friends, in the country itself, to the peculiarly dry and searching qualities of the climate. If this temperament lead to choice of food and habits of eating which bring on indigestion, this latter disease will again react upon the temperament, and thus a confounding of cause and effect will take place, which makes it very difficult to decide which is the first or chief agent in producing the observed result. I am very much inclined, however, to the opinion, that a great number of those who emigrate are already more or less affected by the disease in question before they forsake their homes. Privation, hard labour, anxiety of mind, too close confinement during opening manhood, and other causes, produce stomach diseases and nervous restlessness, which make men move to more hopeful regions, or which, being transmitted to children, impel them to new homes. The anxieties which attend the change of life in the new country continue, and prolong the excitement; so that, independent of all special climatic action, some generations of tolerable comfort might elapse before the family restlessness would be soothed down. But if, besides, in the nature of the climate and the general example of the people there be causes of new excitement, we may expect the disease to be indefinitely continued, and the temperament to become characteristic of the people, and a national distinction.'

Agriculture,

Agriculture, according to the Durham Professor—who should here be on his strongest ground—is as yet in its infancy in America. The system consists in exhausting the natural soil by a scourging succession of grain crops; then deserting the farm, and going on to fresh territories, which are exhausted and deserted in turn. In short, land is so cheap that it is more profitable to buy new fields than to manure old; so that nothing like proper restorative culture is practised. Accordingly, says he, the great wheat region is ever retiring farther and farther to the west: while some Atlantic districts, including the whole State of New York, have become comparatively used up, and only suffice to support their own population. Hence Mr. Johnston infers that there is no probability of the price of British produce being permanently depressed by the free importation of American wheat and flour. ‘My persuasion is, that year by year our Transatlantic cousins will become less and less able—*except in extraordinary seasons*—to send large supplies of wheat to our island ports; and that, *when their freshness shall have been rubbed off their new lands*, they will be unable, *with their present knowledge and methods*, to send wheat to the British market so cheap as the more skilful farmers of Great Britain and Ireland.’ A declaration so fenced with *irritant* clauses we have rarely encountered. What, in truth, does this proposition amount to? It is undeniable that America sends large supplies of wheat to our markets at present; and the Professor states his opinion, firstly, that it will continue to do so until the virgin freshness shall have been rubbed off its new lands, but no longer. Now, when is this likely to be? Not this century, anyhow—and if the Yankees manage to retain their whole territory even to the year 1900, they will certainly ‘go a-head *slack*’ in the interval. Secondly (not to mention the further exception of ‘*extraordinary seasons*’), the Professor admits that these large supplies of grain, even at that very remote and indefinite period, will only cease if the American farmers adhere to their *present methods*—in other words, if, when everything else in America is ‘going a-head,’ agriculture should stand still for half a century—an impossible supposition. Lastly, how *could* the present mode of farming be adhered to after the new lands are *exhausted*, when this system (depending, as it does, on the cheapness of land, and the desertion of old farms for new) cannot go on for one moment after the new lands are *occupied*?

Let us see how the matter actually stands. Accepting as correct the averment that the State of New York is not at present an *exporting* one, it is always to be remembered that this by no means applies to the Atlantic States generally—as it appears from one of the Professor’s own footnotes that Pennsylvania and Virginia

Virginia are among the greatest wheat-exporting districts of the Union. Moreover, as long as New York State supports itself in grain (and our author, as we shall by and by see, holds that it is now at its lowest point of production), the whole surplus of the interior States is exportable without any deduction. What that surplus is, and how rapidly it is increasing, may be seen from Mr. Johnston's statement, that in 1838 wheaten flour was shipped at Buffalo for the West, but that in 1847 no less than *four hundred thousand tons* of wheat and flour reached the banks of the Hudson from the West. An increase of 400,000 tons in nine years is most astounding; but considering the unparalleled influx of emigrants from Europe during the last four years (double that of any former experience), it cannot be doubted that the surplus must be now increasing even still faster. The State of Michigan alone, in 1848, produced 4,740,000 bushels of wheat, of which *two millions* were exportable; an extraordinary quantity for so young a State, which at that time had only one-seventieth part of its whole cultivable area under wheat—the soil of which, as Mr. Johnston tells us, is indifferent, and its climate humid, cold, and unfavourable to agricultural pursuits. The fact is, the power of exporting large quantities of wheat implies neither great natural productiveness, nor permanently rich land, in a district which, from a state of nature, is beginning to be subjected to arable culture. The explanation of it is, that nearly the whole population of such districts is employed in agricultural pursuits, and that wheat is the only grain they produce for which a ready market can be found. Let us not be wilfully blind. As long as the Eastern States continue simply self-supporting, the surplus of the interior, of the new lands constantly being reclaimed, will year after year pour down the river-high-ways to the sea; and long before the advancing tide of cultivation has reached the barrier of the Rocky Mountains, another tidal wave of superior culture will have rolled westwards over the Alleghanies. The three great causes of the wretched system of agriculture hitherto practised in America are—cheapness of land, dearth of labour, and want of capital; and in the ordinary course of things all three will diminish together. The fact that 7 per cent. can now be had by merely lending money, while farming, usually yields only 5, will retard for some time any costly improvements in agriculture. But such a state of things cannot long continue; and the extraordinary exertions now everywhere making, both in our Provinces and in the States, and which Mr. Johnston himself has been so ably helping forward, promise soon to restore to vigour the once highly productive soils of North-Eastern America. Mark his own admission, a little further

ther on:—‘I would not be so rash as to say that the wheat-producing powers of the region east of Lake Erie, and south of the St Lawrence, will never be much greater than it is now; I believe it may become, and *I hope the time may soon arrive* when more skill and knowledge shall have forced it to become, *far more productive, as a whole, than it is now.*’ The Professor adds the formidable anticipation, that there we may by and by ‘find new Lothians, and Norfolks, and Lincolnshires, and a reproduction of the best farmers of all these districts—their very sons and grandsons, in fact, settled on American farms.’ Our Professor is, a candid liberal; without question, if the present Free Trade work go on much longer, our farmers, both sons and fathers, will be found anywhere, everywhere, but at home! If the New York farmers grumble at being supplanted by others of their own country, it is no ways strange that ours should grumble at being supplanted by the foreigner; and if they tax Canadian grain 20 per cent., does it not seem reasonable enough that we should reciprocate the impost? Moreover, they tax grain-imports merely to keep farming profitable in exhausted districts; the former legislation of Great Britain on this subject had a far different motive. It matters nothing to the Americans, as a nation, whether they get their bread-stuffs from one part of the Union or another; but it is of mighty importance to us whether we raise our supplies at home, or become dependent for our staple food upon countries which may any day become our relentless foes; among others the Union itself, and *France*.*

Mr. Johnston’s account of Lowell, the well-known manufacturing city of Massachusetts, brings us to another branch of the great controversy of the day. This town stands on the beautiful river Merrinack, from which it derives the motive power for its machinery. It is a clean, spacious, busy place, with wide streets, abundant shops, comfortable hotels, rows of neat lodging-houses for the employed, and fifty large mills, upon which the whole population depends. Cottons, plain and printed, woollen cloths, carpets, and the machinery necessary for the spinning and weaving departments, are the principal manufactures of the town. Its rise has been very rapid. In 1828 the population was only 3500; in 1850 it was estimated at 25,000. When compared with the fine produce of the Glasgow mills, the cotton manufacture is almost in its cradle. The cloths are coarse sheetings, shirtings, drillings, and printed calicoes, which are made of low-priced cotton, and are heavy to transport. But in this department they have no

* Free-trade prophecies are already at a sad discount. France, almost the last country, we were assured, from which grain-imports were to be expected, now sends us annually 500,000 quarters of wheat, and 2,000,000 cwts. of flour!

competitors;

competitors; for the cost of transport upon European goods of this kind forms so large a percentage of their whole value, as to give the American manufacturers the sole command of their own market for these articles, and even of great part of the South American market also. Our Professor thus winds up his remarks :—

‘The deduction which I wish the reader to draw, and which I think he will draw from this comparison, is, that New England is employed almost solely in producing coarse and inferior goods, in which the quantity of raw material is great, and upon which the labour expended is comparatively small. The goods which it is of importance to us to produce are those into the price of which labour enters to the extent of from 50 to 80 per cent. of the whole cost. Such goods Glasgow chiefly makes, and such goods Lowell does not; and none of the American manufacturers can yet make them so as to come into successful competition with British and German products, even in their own protected markets. We have not, therefore, cause for those gloomy apprehensions which alarmists delight to hold up constantly before our eyes, as if the honest and praiseworthy endeavours of our Transatlantic brethren were incompatible almost with our manufacturing existence. Let them advance, as we *should* wish they might.’

Whatever we *should* wish, it is too certainly the fact that not a little of our recent legislation has been based upon a very different hope and expectation. We have been depreciating many other interests at home for the sake of pushing the foreign trade in cotton manufactures; and it becomes us to examine whether we are likely to achieve so great success in this design as will compensate the acknowledged misery which it is occasioning. What, then, is our chance of maintaining (for *extending* is manifestly hopeless) our ground in the American market? In all the rougher kinds of cotton goods, as we have seen, we are already totally supplanted; not even Manchester, with its coarse fabrics for exportation, can enter into rivalry with the produce of Lowell. Let us consider, then, whether we can hope long to hold our supremacy in the finer fabrics. The two great obstacles, we are told, to the States’ successfully competing with us in these, are ‘the high price of labour, and the expensive way in which manufacturing is generally conducted.’ As to the first—not to mention the slow but certain fall in wages owing to the vast immigration and natural increase of population—it must be recollected that our mills are driven by steam, those of Lowell by water power—an economical advantage which cannot easily be over-estimated, and which goes far to counterbalance the higher price paid for human labour, if indeed it does not compensate it in full. In regard to the second obstacle that so cheers our Professor—we must content ourselves with the very obvious hint, that

that with the Americans this manufacture is still very young. Two-and-twenty years ago there was not a loom in Lowell; and yet what is the state of matters now? Why, there are now 320,000 spindles at work, and more than 350,000 yards of cotton cloth made daily! If such has been its progress, is it likely now to stand still? Are the Yankees so diffident of their powers, so slothful in temperament, or so careless of gain, as to rest contented with their quickly-won supremacy in the coarser fabrics, and leave our finer stuffs in quiet possession of their markets? The only *real* difficulty in economising a process of this kind is to invent machinery that will produce the same results with less attendance or in less time. But in the case of Lowell, this difficulty is more imaginary than real. *We* have made such inventions, after great labour and great expense—they *have only to copy them*. The engineers that work for Manchester will work for them—we will cast what they need in our foundries, and send it out to them; and should they want to know still more, they have every opportunity for doing so at our Great Exhibition.

Such are the state and prospects of the cotton manufacture in the Northern States. But the South also has begun; and it is rushing ahead even faster than the North, and with advantages peculiar to itself. The water-power, as we have seen, gives Lowell a great advantage over the steam-mills of Manchester; and the high price of labour in Massachusetts is the only real obstacle to its competing even with our finest fabrics. The South also has its magnificent streams and abundant water-power, but it has also *cheap labour*. It is the black that there works in the mills—it is slave-labour that there comes into competition with the already down-crushed workmen of England. In Virginia, Kentucky, the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, and Mississippi, there are already some scores of factories—consuming from 300,000 to 400,000 bales of cotton a-year; and the same power which compels the negroes to toil in gangs under a burning sun will constrain them to waste life in hundreds more of such factories. There is even a double motive for thus employing them—not merely the prospect of vast gain in this manufacture, but because some of the former industries are all but quite unprofitable. The tobacco-grounds were yearly becoming more and more exhausted; thousands of acres were annually abandoned; and the slave-lords had been removing their black *stock* or *plant* further and further from the coast, for the sake of reaching richer soils. But the cotton-manufacture has at once relieved their embarrassment; and they are now driving it on with all the eagerness of men who have just discovered a golden mine. With *operatives* who ask no wages—whose sole cost is keeping soul and body together—who never

never dream of *strikes*, and who work as obediently and mechanically as the machines they superintend, the slave-owners of the South will soon make their influence felt on both sides of the Atlantic. Even our Professor registers 'the prediction of many, that the manufacturers of the Eastern States will sink before them.'

• Leaving *the Eastern States* to look after their own dollar, we guess it is time for Old England to drop the beatific vision of spinning for all the world. We are receiving a smart rebuff in what all our wise men had pronounced the most promising market for our cotton goods. Moreover, with these hundreds of mills both in the northern and southern States, and new ones yearly springing up on the banks of their noble rivers, it is plain enough that ere long there will be little surplus cotton to send to us. This the mill-men of Manchester already perceive, and hence the great interest they now take in India, and the Commission sent out to report on the possibility of growing cotton there on a gigantic scale—with a profit. Add to all this the *duty of from thirty to fifty per cent. levied on our manufactures* by the States, and we complete a picture which merits the serious consideration of our Ministers—indeed of their masters.

We cannot conclude without adverting to the general prospects of the poor Negroes in the Union. One of the most melancholy results of the system of slavery in Virginia, especially since the land became exhausted, is the breeding and rearing of slaves for the supply of the South. Doubtless the greater attention which proprietors are thus induced to bestow on their *stock* cannot be without some good to the physical interests of the blacks; but it is a humbling thing to see 'human produce' made a branch of common rural industry in a Christian State!—'Virginia,' said not long since one of its representatives, 'has a slave population of near half a million, *whose value is chiefly dependent on Southern demand.*' 'In plain English,' retorted Mr. Stevens, a Pennsylvanian member of Congress—'what does this mean? That Virginia is now fit to be the breeder, not the employer of slaves; that her proud chivalry are compelled to turn slave-traders for a livelihood. Instead of attempting to renovate the soil, and by their own honest labour compelling the earth to yield her abundance—instead of seeking for the best breeds of cattle and horses to feed on her hills and valleys, and fertilise the land—the sons of the Great State must devote their time to selecting and grooming the most lusty sires and the most fruitful wenches, to supply the slave-barracoons of the South!' And so profitable is this slave-rearing husbandry, that Mr. Johnston tells us it brings in more money yearly to Virginia than all its tobacco and cotton do!

The

The increased application of Negro labour to the growth of sugar in the Southern States is another circumstance of moment.

'In Louisiana,' says Mr. Johnston, 'there were of sugar estates, and of slaves employed in the cultivation of sugar, in

	With Horse-power.	With Steam-power.	E-tates.	Slaves.
1844-45	354	480	762	63,000
1849-50	671	885	1536	126,000

The cultivation of sugar, therefore, is rapidly increasing—a proof that, with the aid of the duty imposed upon foreign sugar in the States, these countries can now compete profitably with Cuba and the Brazils. Much more, therefore, when the slave-trade to these latter countries shall come to be abolished, and the expense of cultivation thereby raised, will they be able to strive successfully against them for the supply of the whole United States market. And if we consider that into this latter market raw sugar to the value of about nine million dollars is now annually imported from Spanish and Brazilian ports, we shall be able to form an idea of the very great development of which this branch of culture, in the Southern States, is still susceptible.'

If to the cotton culture—hitherto the great slave-multiplier—be now added a largely increased slave-culture of sugar, and to both the employment of negroes in cotton and other factories, it cannot be doubted that a fresh and most potent stimulus will be given to this breeding and traffic of blacks, and a stronger enthusiasm nourished for those 'domestic institutions' by which slavery is established and made legal. 'And, if in free England the factory system has been productive of so many evils, physical, moral, and social—who shall say to what new forms of oppression and misery it may give rise in vast workshops peopled by human beings who have no civil rights, and who are superintended by others whose immediate profit may be the greatest when their sufferings are rendered the most unbearable?' Can any one doubt that the evil must tell upon us also?

'It can scarcely fail,' says Mr. Johnston, 'to affect in a marked manner the future comfort and condition of our home population. If the labour of coloured slaves, so employed, really prove cheaper than that of free white men, then either our manufactures must decline and decrease, or the condition and emoluments of our workmen must be gradually reduced to the level of those of the SLAVE OPERATIVES of the American factories. The possibility of such a result is melancholy and disheartening, at a time when so many are anxious rather to improve and elevate than further to depress our labouring people.'

We thank the Professor for the frank admission of this passage:—but what right has he to insinuate that there ever was a time when it was the wish of the British government, or of any influential class of this community, to 'depress our labouring people?' This slang is exceedingly unworthy of such a writer. But to return

to his proper topic—we may add, that our African Squadron, and other efforts for repressing the slave trade, are here worse than useless; for just in proportion as slavery goes down in Brazil and Cuba, will the stimulus to slave-breeding be increased in Virginia.

What is to be done with the American negroes? This is, perhaps, a question of as great perplexity to the friends of the blacks as to their sternest taskmasters. Besides the actual slaves, the growing body of free coloured people is a source of extreme anxiety. At the beginning of the century their number in Virginia was only 10,000; it is now estimated at six times that amount. They are most numerous in Eastern Virginia; and as the whites in that region are diminishing, while the free blacks are increasing, it is not unnatural that the former should dread the influence of the latter upon the minds of the slaves. Attempts have accordingly been made to repress this increase, by discouraging the emancipation of the slaves, and forbidding such as are emancipated from remaining in the State without the special permission of the county-courts. But the agent most relied on has been the American Colonisation Society—that is, the scheme for conveying all free blacks who choose to the Liberian settlement in Africa,—a scheme proposed by President Jefferson at the close of last century, established in 1817, aided and countenanced by the legislature of Virginia, and recently supported by Messrs. Clay and Webster. The latter statesman, in March, 1850, explicitly said,—‘If Virginia and the South see fit to adopt any proposition to relieve themselves from the free people of colour among them, or such as may be made free, they have my full consent that the Government shall pay them any sum adequate to the purpose out of the proceeds of the sale of the territories ceded to the general Government,—and which has already produced 80,000,000 dollars.’ In session 1850 the legislature of Virginia passed a bill appropriating 50,000 dollars a-year for five years, to remove from that State, under the auspices of the Colonisation Society, each free person of colour who might be willing to emigrate to Africa; and imposing on those who remained a tax of a dollar a-head, to be added to the same fund. And in the present Congress (1851) Mr. Clay has proposed the establishment of a line of Government *emigration steamers* to the coast of Africa to promote the egress of free blacks.

We are happy in believing that the settlement of Liberia has already had some effect in repressing the slave traffic on the adjoining Coast of Africa, and promoting better industry there than that of kidnapping. But, as respects its main avowed purpose, this Colonisation Society has not as yet succeeded. The free coloured people in the States increase at present at the rate of
11,000

11,000 a-year, while the Society in thirty-three years has transported only 7000 in all, many of them slaves manumitted for the purpose. Should Mr. Webster, now in office, still adhere to his above-quoted sentiments on this matter, and if Mr. Clay succeed in his present proposal, something useful may yet be done by means of the Society; though from the almost universal reluctance of the negroes to emigrate, and other obstacles, it seems destined never to realise at all the hopes of its founders.

‘It cannot be (says Mr. Johnston) that statesmen really look for any relief of the supposed evil to this plan of deportation. The proposals must rather be made as temporary expedients, and for the purpose of political conciliation. So it must have been also with Mr. Clay’s plan for the gradual abolition of slavery in Kentucky, that all born after 1860 should be free when they reached the age of twenty-five, and that they should then be apprenticed for three years, to raise a sum sufficient to transport them to a colony, to be provided for the purpose. Who can foresee what is to be the state of the Union itself, or the political position of this constantly increasing body of coloured people, in the year 1888, when the first of these freed slaves would be in a condition to be expatriated?’

‘There are now in the Union about 3,300,000 slaves, and 500,000 free coloured people. If these increase at the present ratio of 3 or even 2½ per cent. per annum, they will amount respectively, in 1890, to 1,250,000 of free coloured, and to upwards of 7,000,000 of slaves! The new constitutions adopted in Kentucky and Illinois forbid the immigration and settlement of free people of colour in these States, and order the expulsion of such as are made free. But when numbers multiply so greatly, what law, unless it be that another St. Bartholomew shall be enacted, will prevent these numbers from spreading over the land?’

Are, then, these poor creatures destined yet to struggle through blood and fire to some half-savage monarchy of their own? or, humanised by generations of peace, will they emerge gradually, and almost unnoticed, into a civilised and Christian community? Another St. Bartholomew will not do:—a thought so devilish could never creep into the manly American heart; and if their present rate of increase continues as it seems likely to do, ere this century has closed the expense of retaining such a population in subjection will outweigh any profit derivable from their compulsory labour. A nation of ten million Africans cannot be held in a silken leash: Prussia, under the Great Frederick, had hardly half that number, and yet she baffled the leagued forces of three empires. With the excessive antipathy to every shade of black blood which pervades every part of the Union, it may be long before a Negro State will be permitted to rear its head. But every year is bringing this climax nearer; and the very care at present bestowed upon the breeding of slaves, revolting though

it be, may be one of the agencies by which Providence is hastening on the final extinction of bondage in the Transatlantic World. A New St. Domingo, indeed, would never be tolerated in the midst of Anglo-Saxon light and energy; but the Negroes of the States are already a very different race of men from those who sixty years ago made a hell of that noble island. Those were fresh from the African wilds, burning with all the fierce lusts of savage existence, and wrathful under the new thralldom of their white masters. The others have long been encircled by many civilising influences; their *original* hatred to their masters has long passed away; the pleasing symptom of hundreds redeeming their freedom is witnessed every year; not a few of these freedmen have distinguished themselves in the humble career thus opened to them, and probably many more would do so but for the repressive jealousy of their white brethren.*

True, that improvement is yet in its infancy—true that, standing side by side with the lordliest type of our race, the inferiority of the Negro still seems excessive. But consider the long glory of the one and the almost immemorial degradation of the other. Can the deep debasement of three thousand years be rolled from off the Negro's soul like a mist of the morning? Can half a century in the green savannahs of America efface the scorching marks of the sun of Africa—the debasing sterility of its glowing deserts? The fertile region where now he dwells is not his own—its riches, its fruits, its beauty, are not as yet for him; and can we, remembering all this, still reject his case as hopeless because he has not risen nearer to a fellowship with a world which disowns him, and which too bitterly thrusts him back from its portals?

Colonel Cunynghame shrewdly says:—

'The Americans of the Southern States are very anxious that all strangers should come to an unfavourable conclusion respecting the mental capabilities of the black man, invariably stating that the race are susceptible of no improvement, however much attention is lavished upon the cultivation of their minds; but that this cannot really be their

* In calculating the probabilities of the future establishment of a great negro dominion, we must not overlook the myriads of that unhappy race in the islands of the Mexican Gulf. The decree of the Provisional Government in 1848, by which all the blacks in the French islands were declared free, has worked very badly. 'All the emigrants from Guadeloupe and Martinique with whom I conversed,' says Marmier, 'foresaw a bloody and terrible catastrophe. Failing energetic repression, these islands, like St. Domingo, will be lost to us. But we shall have the satisfaction, perhaps,' he adds, with misplaced levity, 'of witnessing the foundation of a new kingdom of the blacks, and of manufacturing at Paris the crown and sceptre of another Faustin I.' In the course of ages, should there indeed arise a negro dominion in the New World, it will probably be attended by a concentration of the blacks from Maryland to Brazil. A central position, such as the possession of St. Domingo and one or two other islands of the Gulf would afford them, might be best both for themselves and for their white brethren, as at once concentrating and isolating them.

~~that~~ impression is too clearly demonstrated by the necessity which ~~these~~ citizens have advocated, of passing laws in the senate against all instruction being granted to this race. If, in their opinion, no harm could arise to their own interest from increased knowledge in the slave, or if he were utterly incapable of receiving useful impressions, why adopt such vigorous measures to preclude him only from eating of that fruit, which they acknowledge, by their universal system of education, to be so invaluable to themselves?"—*Glimpse*, p. 146.

'It has been stated by persons worthy of credit,' says Mr. Johnston, 'that the older skulls disinterred from the Negro burying ground at New York, are much thicker, and indicate a less intellectual character, than those of more modern date. Dr. Warren showed me, in his collection, skulls of pure Negroes of full blood, which he assured me were of enlarged size, and manifested greater signs of intellectual capacity, and he expressed to me his conviction, that the race, by long residence in this more intellectual country, was itself becoming more intellectual. This is certainly in consonance with one's hopes and wishes, and in accordance with the ideas of Blumenbach. The upholders of the permanence and imalterability of pure races meet us with the objection that there are in Africa different tribes with different degrees of intellectual endowment; and that, to prove our case, we must trace the same family always mixing with the same blood for a couple of centuries, and show that the last of the successive generations is wiser and nobler in mind than the first. But though this has not been done, I am not willing to estimate lightly the matured opinion of so old and practised an observer as Dr. Warren.'

Most lamentable is the unmeasured acrimony and virulence which the Slavery Question is at present exciting throughout the Union. The Free States, galled by the gibes and sarcasms hurled at them from Europe as tolerators of slavery, and roused by the sights of horrors which the Fugitive Slave Bill has now brought to their doors, have lost sight of all prudence, and cast forbearance to the winds, in their antipathy to slavery and the Slave States. They overlook the immense difficulty of dealing with such a question—they forget of how old a standing the evil is, and how closely it has become mixed up with the material interests and social institutions of the southern part of the Union. As M. Marmier sharply reminds them—

'They discuss this question quite at their ease. By the nature of their soil and climate they have no need of slavery, and there are but few negroes within their territories. I will add that the States of the North have no right to boast of their emancipation of the blacks, since they have conceded to them only an affronting liberty—since they have sold them like helots to the lowest trades, and brand them with a stigma of reprobation like pariahs.'

It is a Gordian knot that dare not be cut. It is a task for a Napoleon—

Napoleon — how is it to be accomplished by shallow apostles and turgid pamphleteers? If they will not forbear for the Union's sake, it is needless to implore them to be prudent for the sake of the Negroes. But what other result can all this blind fury and inflammatory harangue have upon the helpless slaves, save to fill them with discontent or rouse them to revolution? There must be wise heads and iron wills in Virginia to have thus long repressed the effervescence; but if the rabid declamations of the North continue much longer, there cannot fail to be such a crisis as America has never yet beheld and will never cease to deplore.

ART. IV.—*Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino; illustrating the Arms, Arts, and Literature of Italy from 1440 to 1630.* By James Dennistoun of Dennistoun. 3 vols. 8vo. 1851.

THE territory of Urbino, always small and unproductive, is now incorporated into one of the weakest and worst governed of Christian states. The family of its ancient sovereigns has long been extinct, and the page that recorded the history of their independence is almost obliterated from the annals of Europe. Yet, after so many years of obscurity, relics of former magnificence may still be traced in its remote capital; and the pilgrim will be well rewarded for his slight deviation from the beaten track. Mr. Dennistoun, however, never meant to confine his investigation to the narrow limits of this territory, or even to the lives of those eminent men most nearly connected with it; he aspired, as the title-page announces, to *illustrate* the progress of arms, arts, and literature from the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century; and, in fact, the dukes of Urbino and their duchy occupy but a small part of a work which might with equal propriety have styled itself a history of Italy during that brilliant period.

The modern legation of Urbino and Pesaro includes the whole of the old duchy. The original line of its princes, designated in elder chronicles as lords of *Monte Carpegna* (a desolate tract in the Apennines), had their first importance as Counts of Montefeltro — that mountainous district lying north of the city of Urbino, of which Penna Billi is the largest town, and the fortress of St. Leo the most remarkable feature.* This small fief was bestowed by Frederick Barbarossa on one of his followers in the year

* This fortress replaces, on the summit of an isolated, almpet tower-like rock, a once famous temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*. Hence the obvious etymon of Montefeltro — which name was extended to the surrounding district.

1154, and in the beginning of the next century we find a descendant receiving the investiture with additional territory from Frederick II., and soliciting a confirmation of the grant from the rival of the imperial power, Pope Honorius III. From about this time these feudatories of a double allegiance were designated indifferently as Counts of Montefeltro or of Urbino. Conquest, purchase, and prudent marriages further increased their dominions; but it was not till the sovereignty had descended to the line of Rovere that the nepotism of two Popes of that race added the important provinces of Sinigaglia and Pesaro. Dante has conferred on many of the noblest names of Italy the same immortality that some of our ancient families owe to Shakspeare. The readers of the *Divina Commedia* are familiar with the name of Count Guido of Montefeltro, although the insignificant page which it occupies in history may have escaped their notice. It is from the great poet alone that we learn both the crime and the punishment of this relapsed penitent. Foremost among the founders of his House's greatness, he was noted throughout his active life for cunning;

—— *l'opere mie*

Non futoa leonine ma da volpe—

—— 'less my deeds bespake

The nature of the lion than the fox' (*Carey*)—

is the confession wrung from him (*Inferno*, c. 27). But he had moments of contrition: and when he had reached that age, he relates, which to all reflective minds brings a chilling sense of the vanity of life, he was filled with remorse:—

'—— *fui om d' arme et poi fui Cordigliero....*

Ciò che prima mi piacque allor m' increbbe,

E pentito e confesso mi rendei.

'A man of arms at first, I clothed me then

In good Saint Francis' girdle....

That which before had pleased me then I rued,

And to repentance and confession turn'd.'—*Carey*.

In the Franciscan convent at Assisi the abdicated prince sought the peace which the world can neither give nor take away; and here, but for an unexpected temptation, he might have persevered in his course of prayer and penance. Pope Boniface VIII., baffled in a war he was waging with his rebellious vassals of the Comarca, visited the cell of the recluse, and begged some of that crafty counsel for which he had been so famous. 'Promise much and perform little,' the oracle replied—the Pope took the hint—and Anagnina, the stronghold of the enemy, having capitulated on favourable terms, was immediately levelled with the earth. It was in vain that the cautious sinner had received previous absolution from

from his tempter for the crime he was about to commit—it was in vain that he died in the weeds of St. Francis—in vain the Saint himself descended in person to receive the soul of his client; ‘a cherub of darkness’ was already on the watch for his prey; the Saint retreated, and the fate of the culprit was fixed in the eighth gulf of perdition along with the Counsellors of Evil. The champions of the tiara and of the order of St. Francis have both protested against this uncanonical judgment, but all in vain, for in that same penal cell to which it pleased the Poet to condemn the soul of Count Guido, posterity has obstinately persisted in believing it to remain.

The immediate successors of this unfortunate chief were little distinguished from others of that barbarous age. Great crimes must be relieved by great virtues, or at least by great talents, if they are to receive any portion of our sympathy; but mediæval Italy too frequently presents a monotonous picture of vice, undiversified by a single redeeming merit. The biographies of our author commence when this dark period was already passing away. Duke Federigo, whom he numbers as the tenth lord of his lineage, is the first on whom he fixes any particular attention. Federigo was acknowledged by Count Guidantonio as his natural son—though contemporary opinion was much divided as to the fact; and in 1444, on the death of his real or nominal father’s legitimate son, Count Oddantonio, he succeeded to the vacant throne, though rather by the election of the people of Urbino than, even granting his alleged parentage, from any title of inheritance.

The most eminent man of his House, as well as its first Duke, he may be taken as a favourable specimen of the warrior, statesman, and sovereign of his age and country. He might have served Macchiavelli as the model of his ‘Prince.’ He was faithful to his engagements—when not much tempted to break them: he committed few acts of deliberate perfidy, and none of wanton cruelty. Personally brave, as a general he pushed caution to the very verge of timidity. He availed himself of his military trusts to forward his objects of family aggrandisement, without much regard for the interest of the sovereign who employed him. To secure the favour of Sixtus IV., he gave his daughter’s hand to that Pope’s nephew, Giovanni della Rovere. He increased his territory at the expense of his neighbour and enemy, the perfidious Sigismund Malatesta; and other feudatories less troublesome had cause to rue the vicinity of an ambitious chieftain who alternately commanded the armies of the King of Naples, the Pope, the Florentine republic, and the Duke of Milan. The sums which he drew from the favour of his employers and the

fear of his opponents he spent liberally in adorning his capital. He was deficient neither in learning nor in taste, and he was zealous in patronising literature and art. His court became the acknowledged model of polished ease. Contemporary chronicles have celebrated his exertions in promoting goodwill and harmony among his subjects, his love of justice, and his somewhat Oriental method of dispensing it. In his domestic relations, if not quite immaculate, he was certainly a tender father and an affectionate husband; and, though he left living proofs of his infidelity, we do not learn that the good understanding between him and his admirable wife was ever seriously disturbed. He was a great almsgiver, munificent to the clergy, and a scrupulous observer of the forms of devotion. His reputation was European, and procured him the esteem of our Henry VII., by whom he was named a Knight of the Garter. He died in 1482, in the sixtieth year of his age, while defending Ferrara against the united forces of the Pope and the Venetians.

Many provincial towns of Italy astonish the traveller with relics of a splendour apparently quite beyond the resources of a petty State and the ambition of a petty sovereign. The history of the period affords the explanation. Those palaces, libraries, and churches were raised by men who made a traffic of war, and not only taxed all Italy, but levied contributions from transalpine Christendom. Among the cities enriched by such means Urbino is not the least remarkable. Situated among scarcely accessible mountains, it might seem to possess no requisite for a capital, nor indeed any other advantage except its remoteness and its security. Yet the ability and generosity of its princes rendered this solitude the chosen retreat of the refined and the intellectual, whose successes in art and letters spread the name of the tiny sovereignty over every part of the civilised world. Few of the cities of Italy, and none on this side of the Alps, contain a monument of such truly royal magnificence as the castle of Urbino. Built in the middle of the fifteenth century, and hovering in style between the fortress and the palace, it possesses the characteristic beauties of both. The defensive accessories seem rather adapted to the dignity of the inhabitant than essential to his safety; while the spacious courts, staircases, corridors, and chambers indicate the peaceful residence of a sovereign dwelling in confidence among a cultivated and prosperous people. Occupying an imposing situation above the town, it casts its massive foundations deep down into the ravine over which it towers, and beyond which it commands an extensive view over the Apennines, far on to the notched rock of S. Marino and the lofty Monte Carpegna, the cradle of the Montefeltro

feltro race. The monumental solidity of the structure seems to bid defiance to time, and to impart an air of perpetual freshness to a building exposed to the action of a mountain climate.

Castiglione says in his '*Cortegiano*'—

- 'The residence erected by Federigo' on the rugged heights of Urbino is regarded by many as the most beautiful in Italy; and he so amply provided it with every convenience, that it appeared rather a palatial city than a palace. He furnished it not only with the usual plenishings of rich brocade in silk and gold, silver plate, and such like, but ornamented it with a vast quantity of ancient marbles and bronze sculpture, of rare pictures, and musical instruments in every variety, excluding all but the choicest objects.'

Mr. Dennistoun is inclined to set aside this valuable testimony, because his own minutest inquiries have failed in tracing any antique marbles or bronzes or any easel picture to the possession of Federigo. Castiglione described the castle as he saw it, enriched with the accumulations of another century. Before the general diffusion of the art of oil-painting there could be few easel pictures; nor was it yet customary to collect them as the ornaments of a dwelling or the furniture of a museum. The excavations among the ruins of Rome had only just been commenced—all discoveries were claimed as the property of the Pontiff, or were only granted by him to a few favoured individuals. In the Villa Medici at Florence some few objects had been placed for the instruction of students, but we are not aware of any considerable assemblage of sculpture in the north of Italy before the sack of Rome dispersed the spoil of the Vatican. But all that befitted a royal residence of the day was to be seen in the castle of Federigo, and the chimney-pieces, doorways, friezes, and sculptured archivolts which remain, exhibit an elegance of design and a prodigality of invention which we might seek in vain, except in the very finest works of antiquity. The apartments, by Castiglione's time so crowded with gems of art, are now stripped bare enough; all that was movable is gone; their treasures must be sought at Florence and at Rome. We shall leave the description of the library to Mr. Dennistoun:—

• To the right and left of the carriage entrance into the great courtyard are two handsome saloons, each about forty-five feet by twenty-two, and twenty-three in height. That on the left contained the famous library of manuscripts collected by Federigo; the corresponding one received the printed books, which, gradually purchased by successive dukes, became under the last sovereign a copious collection. Baldi, in his description of the palace, printed in Bianchini's work, dwells on the judicious adaptation of the former, its windows set high against the northern sky, admitting a subdued and steady light which

which invited to study; its air, cool in summer, temperate in winter; its walls conveniently shelved; the character and objects of the place fittingly set forth in a series of rude hexameters inscribed on the cornices. Adjoining was a closet fitted up with inlaid and gilded panelling, beneath which Timoteo della Vite depicted Minerva with her ægis, Apollo with his lyre, and the nine Muses with their appropriate symbols. A similar small study was fitted up immediately over this one, set round with arm-chairs encircling a table all mosaicked with tarsia, and carved by Maestro Giacomo of Florence, while on each compartment of the panelling was the portrait of some famous author, and an appropriate distich. One other article of furniture deserves special notice—a magnificent eagle of gilt bronze, serving as a lectern in the centre of the manuscript-room. It was carried to Rome at the devolution of the duchy to the Holy See, but was rescued by Pope Clement XI. from the Vatican library, and restored to his native town, where it has long been used in the choir of the cathedral.—vol. i. p. 153.

The staircase is magnificent, and the great hall is of noble proportions, a double cube of sixty feet, vaulted above, and ornamented with niches in which the arms or devices of the princes and republics whose banners the dukes of Urbino had borne were placed. Of these the Lion of S. Mark alone remains! In more modern days this deserted palace was assigned as the shelter of the Stuart family, when they were compelled to quit France and seek the hospitality of the Pope; but of that mournful revival of a mimic court a painted escutcheon and a half-effaced inscription are the only existing memorials.

If this glorious monument of the taste and magnificence of former days depended for preservation on the care of man, it would long since have fallen into ruin; but it may defy any accident but an earthquake, and it will be long we fancy (whatever may be the fate of the Papal States) ere the languid industry of the Urbinese would be spurred to the mischievous energy of pulling it down for the value of the materials. It is the summer residence of the Cardinal legate who governs the district, and the second floor has been fitted up for his use. Mr. Dennistoun expresses a regret at not having been able to enter those rooms; he may console himself; we have visited them, as well as every other in the castle, and can assure him that they contain nothing to gratify curiosity. The traveller will discover there neither ancient splendour nor modern convenience. No Italian of any class finds much of his enjoyment in home accommodations; his house he uses to sleep in; to seek his amusements, his pleasures, and his occupations, he leaves it. His fixed notion of comfort is to guard himself against heat, and this idea pursues him to Urbino, where the glare of a three months'

months' summer is followed by nine months of weather as changeable as that of England, and on the whole even more inclement. The Cardinal's apartment, in the commencement of a cold and late spring, was warmed by no cheerful fire; no carpets covered the clammy brick floors; the naked walls bore no decoration—except a grim and unsightly resemblance of the reigning pope suspended over a hard and high-backed sofa (inviting, no repose), from whence diverged in parallel lines two rows of chairs as rectangular as the uneasy seat of honour. The rest of the furniture, fitted rather for a barrack-room than a palace, contrasted sadly with the splendour of the period to which we must now hasten back.

Guidobaldo I., the son and successor of Duke Federigo, was in his eleventh year when he ascended the throne. He had lost his mother (a daughter of Alexander Sforza, Lord of Pesaro) in infancy, and the guardianship of his person and the regency of the state were committed by his father's will to Ottavio Ubaldini, a trust fully justified by that kinsman's fidelity and prudence. The commencement of the new reign was serene and prosperous. The cause which the late Duke had espoused was generally successful, and the son, notwithstanding his youth, was immediately appointed by the allied princes to succeed him in the title of generalissimo, with all the honours and emoluments appertaining to it. His person was handsome—his address engaging—his temper mild—his talents excellent; his aptitude for learning and his application equally remarkable. His proficiency in all graceful accomplishments was universally admired. To cultivate such promising dispositions no care could be excessive. Mr. Dennistoun owes no apology for citing the curious regulations drawn up for the conduct of the young prince's court; they are among the most interesting and characteristic details he has preserved.

'To all persons composing the household, unexceptionable manners were indispensable. In those of higher rank there were further required competent talents and learning, a grave deportment, and fluency of speech. The servants must be of steady habits and respectable character; regular in all private transactions; of good address, modest, and graceful; willing and neat-handed in their service. There is likewise inculcated the most scrupulous personal cleanliness, especially of hands, with particular injunctions as to frequent ablutions, and extraordinary precautions against the unpleasant effects of hot weather on their persons and clothing: in case of need medical treatment is enjoined to correct the breath. Those who wore livery had two suits a year, generally of fustian, though to some silk doublets were given for summer use. They had a mid-day meal and a supper; the former usually consisted of fruit, soup, and bailed meat; the latter

of salads and boiled meat. This was varied on Fridays and vigil fasts by dinners of fish, eggs, and cheese; suppers of bread, wine, and salads. Saturdays were semi-fasts, when they dined on soup and eggs, and supped on soup and cheese. The upper table offered but few luxuries in addition to this plain fare, such as occasionally roasts, fowls, and pastry, with a more liberal allowance of eggs and cheese on meagre days.

'At the ducal table the chief superiority seems to have consisted in the more liberal use of sweet herbs and fruits. The latter were presented in singular order; cherries and figs before dinner; after it pears, apples, peaches, nuts, almonds; before supper melons and grapes. The splendour of the table service seems to have been more looked to than its good cheer; and many rules are given as to the covered silver platters, the silver goblets and glass carafes, the fine napery and ornamental flowers. The regulations for the duke's chamber service indicate scrupulous ablutions in perfumed water, and frequent change of clothing, in strict conformity to the directions of physicians and astrologers. Among the conveniences enumerated for his bedroom are a bell, a night-light, and, in cold weather, a fire. An attendant slept by him without undressing; also a clerk in the guard-room within call. The music provided to accompany his rides seems miscellaneous—a company of bagpipes, a sackbut, four trumpets, three drums, with a herald or pursuivant. The qualities insisted on for ladies of the duchess's household are—exemplary gravity and unsullied honour; they must further be handy, addicted neither to gossip nor wrangling, and never talking unnecessarily in her presence.'—(v. i. p. 295)

At sixteen years of age Guidobaldo married Elizabeth Gonzaga, daughter of the Marquis of Mantua, the most beautiful and accomplished princess of her day. But, as Mr. Dennistoun observes, 'the bitter was mixed with the sweet.' The constitution of the duke, undermined by hereditary gout, gave early symptoms of decay, and he himself, feeling convinced of the impossibility of transmitting his honours to lineal heirs, applied to Pope Alexander VI. for permission to adopt as his eventual successor the son of his sister by the nephew of Sixtus IV. The application was ill-timed. The reigning pontiff had already fixed his eye on the Duchy of Urbino as the centre of a principality to be carved out of the dominions of the Church, which he destined for his own son Caesar Borgia. It was no part of his Holiness's policy, however, to disclose that project prematurely, or to awaken the suspicions of the duke, and he accordingly received the proposal with apparent favour. When his plans were matured, he put them into execution with a degree of treachery to which not even that age or country had hitherto afforded a parallel.

The general state of Italy was favourable to the pope's scheme of consolidation. The great feudatories in Romagna, unless when employed

employed in the command of mercenary armies, had not the means of maintaining the state of sovereign princes excepting by the excessive taxation of their subjects. Their exactions made their government oppressive, and their vices made it hateful. M. Sismondi draws a gloomy picture of the crimes of these princely houses, which we cannot agree with Mr. Dennistoun in thinking overcharged; though it is undoubtedly an error to describe them alone as guilty, or to attribute all their enormities to a state of isolation which cut them off from the sympathies of humanity.* M. Sismondi's own pages prove that the nobles and wealthy citizens were no less violent and vindictive than these princes, or the vassals than their lords. Nor, on the other hand, did the restless anarchy of the neighbouring democracies allow any greater degree of happiness, or encourage a higher tone of morality. Everywhere the land was filled with rapine and oppression. Between such governments and their subjects there could exist no attachment.

Cæsar Borgia (Duke of Valenza), who fills so large a space in the annals of this period, had recently opened a secular career to his ambition by the murder of his elder brother, and the subsequent resignation of his scarlet hat, and with it of his countless benefices. It was the extravagance to which Sixtus IV. first pushed the practice of advancing a family that caused the invention of the term of *Nepotism*. By him his nephew Giovanni della Rovere had been fixed in the lordship of Sinigaglia, while the still more tenderly beloved nephew—or son—Gerome Riario was seated at Imola and Forlì in the place of their former masters. It was now their turn to be ejected by a still more daring usurper. Borgia, amidst the indifference, at least, of the population, speedily achieved the conquest of Romagna. The Malatesta, who ruled at Rimini, fled at his approach, and the other princes did not generally offer a much more vigorous opposition. In the progress of their conquest crimes were committed by the Papal troops and their leaders which the scepticism of our day would refuse to believe—nay, which its delicacy forbids any historian to recite in detail. Thus the greatest culprits in the world may escape much merited odium through the fastidiousness of readers and the timidity of writers.

The conduct of the young duke of Urbino afforded no pretext for the intended aggression. His obedience to the pope as his spiritual and temporal superior had always been unbounded, and it was through this habit of blind submission that his ruin was now accomplished. The people were known to be brave and warmly attached to him, the frontier rough, and the strongholds numerous. The first object of his Holiness was to lull sus-
picion,

picion, and deprive the state of its defences. The Duchess of Urbino, with a gallant train of troops and courtiers, was invited to attend the nuptials of Lucrezia Borgia with the Duke of Ferrara, and the paternal Pontiff in an autograph letter requested the use of the duke's park of artillery for the reduction of Camerino, and also a free passage through his territory for 1500 soldiers bound on the same expedition. All these requests the duke cheerfully granted, and the enemy was within a few miles of his residence before he received a hasty intimation of their purpose. His capital was wholly divested of troops. No resource but flight was open to him. He hastily assembled his chief officers, explained his position, and recommended them to submit to an evil they had no means of averting. He then gathered together a few valuables, and escaping by a circuitous route, reached, not without some risk and difficulty, the court of his brother-in-law at Mantua.

'Borgia, after a brief halt at Cagli, hurried towards Urbino, and by sunrise was before its gates. He entered the city in gorgeous armour and mounted on a beautiful charger, followed by his lancers and men-at-arms caparisoned as if for a tournament; their party-coloured plumes and glittering mail bearing no signs of a hurried march. He was met by the magistracy and principal inhabitants, who surrendered to him the town and citadel without any show of resistance; and his first act was to behead Pier-Antonio, a confidant of the duke, who, at his instigation, had persuaded his master to grant the excessive demands of the usurper, and so virtually to disable himself from defence, but who, by omitting to secure Guidobaldo's person, earned the vengeance of his seducer. After seizing several who were notoriously attached to the legitimate dynasty, he sought repose in the palace, where he found, and at once removed to Forlì, a vast amount of plate, tapestry, books, and other valuables, estimated by Sanuto at 150,000 ducats, a sum now equal to perhaps a quarter of a million sterling.'—(i. 393.)

Shortly afterwards, by one of those vicissitudes so common in the history of mediæval Italy, Guidobaldo was again in possession of his capital; but he found his crafty rival, backed by the arms of France and Spain, and all the wealth and influence of the pope, too powerful to be permanently resisted. He generously withstood the entreaties of his subjects, who begged to be allowed to risk their lives in defence of their city and their prince, and declining the unequal contest he retired to the fortress of S. Leo, which, with one or two more strongholds, had been left to him by a treaty with the usurper.

From this retreat he was soon after released, and again restored to his throne, by an event the most sudden, the most appalling, which even that age of crime and confusion produced. Alexander

ander VI. and his favourite son were both poisoned at a banquet by drinking from the cup which they had prepared for the lips of their guests.

'Ecclesiastical writers,' says Mr. Dennistoun, 'who attempt not to defend the Pope's morals or example, assert the orthodoxy of his faith and doctrine, and commend the wisdom of his provisions for the maintenance of that religion which regarded him as its head.'—ii. 17.

Such, however, was neither the opinion of lay chroniclers nor of his own subjects.

'The diaries of Marin Sanuto give a lively description of the immediate effects of Alexander's death on Lower Italy—the exultations of the people, the prompt movements of the Campagna barons, the intrigues of the cardinals. As soon as the good news transpired, Rome was in arms against the Spaniards, and the Colonna and Orsini, entering at the head of their troops, willingly aided in spoiling and slaughtering these countrymen of the Borgia, who "could nowhere find holes to hide in." Even their cardinals narrowly escaped a general massacre; and on the 8th of September a proclamation by the college cleared the city of these foreigners on pain of the gibbet.'—ii. 18.

Cæsar Borgia, though much injured, 'and seeming as if burnt from the middle downwards,' was not killed by the dose that had destroyed his father, but he was so far debilitated that he could show nothing of his usual presence of mind and energy: of this he was quite conscious, and he gave the explanation afterwards in a conversation with Macchiavelli. Every possible combination of circumstances, he said, he had foreseen and provided for in the event of the Pope's decease, excepting that he himself should be at the point of death at the same moment. All his plans miscarried. The cardinals did not assemble, as he had intended, under the protection of the guns of S. Angelo, commanded by creatures of his own; he therefore lost the power of dictating their choice. In permitting the Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere (a nephew of Sixtus IV.) to be elected (which he might still have prevented by judicious use of the Spanish suffrages), he is accused by Macchiavelli of having committed one of those faults, which in statecraft are more fatal than any crime. He quickly perceived his error in having been duped by the blandishments of the mortal enemy of his family. After a brief respite he was stripped of all his possessions in Romagna, and to avoid worse evils he fled to Naples, where, trusting—as who would not have trusted?—to a safe-conduct from Gonsalvo de Cordova, he was instantly seized and sent a prisoner to Spain. Amidst a soil on which every virtue seemed to wither, it is pleasing to register one act of honest

honest devotion, even to such a chief. Some friendly hand was found in the wide circuit of ancient Rome to throw a garland on the grave of Nero, and one follower of all those his bounty had fed proved faithful to Cæsar Borgia. Baldassare Scipio, of Siena, a free captain long in his service, publicly placarded a challenge to any Spaniard who should venture to maintain

‘that the Duke Valentino had not been arrested at Naples, in direct violation of a safe-conduct granted in the names of Ferdinand and Isabella, to the great infamy and infinite faithlessness of all these crowns.’—ii. 27.

It is said that the last hours of the ‘great Captain’ were embittered by this breach of faith, the only stain upon his good fame — and that he felt the chivalrous protest of Borgia’s retainer as a reproach never to be forgotten.

The election of the Cardinal della Rovere (Julius II.) was the signal for the restoration of Duke Guidobaldo, and for the subsequent completion of the scheme for adopting his own and the new Pope’s nephew, Francesco-Maria della Rovere, as heir to Urbino. We do not find even the iron-willed and ruthless Julius by any means exempt from the weaknesses of his age and order. Had he not preferred the interests of his family to those of the See, he would have claimed Urbino as a lapsed fief at the death of Guidobaldo, and refused to grant the investiture to any new feudatory. Guidobaldo did not long survive the formal recognition of Francesco as his heir. In 1507 he closed a life of much suffering amidst the lamentations of his subjects. He died receiving all the consolations of his religion; at least we suppose this is the translation into Christian language of the classic announcement made by his friend the Bishop Fiesco to the Pope—‘Qui quidem Deos illi superos atque manes placavit.’ If we cannot agree with Mr. Dennistoun in thinking him a great general and a great politician, we readily admit him to have been what was rarer, an amiable man and a sincere Christian, in an age unparalleled for its depravity and practical infidelity. If he did not possess the genius of Lorenzo de’ Medici, neither did he share his jealous ambition;—if in learning and eloquence he did not equal that accomplished statesman, he at least far exceeded most of the princes his contemporaries. At the period of his death a new era was opening on Italy, with new interests and new maxims of policy. Though Urbino retained its rank as an independent sovereignty for another century, its political importance was at an end, and none of its Dukes were again to hold a conspicuous place among the potentates of Italy.

In a very entertaining essay on the Italian politics of the sixteenth century,

century, Mr. Macaulay expatiates on the happy circumstance that during this period the progress of elegant literature and of the fine arts was proportioned to that of the general prosperity of the country. After quoting a fine passage from Guicciardini, he continues—

‘When we peruse this just and splendid description, we can scarcely persuade ourselves that we are reading of times in which the annals of England and France present us only with a frightful spectacle of poverty, barbarity, and ignorance. From the oppressions of illiterate masters and the sufferings of a degraded peasantry, it is delightful to turn to the opulent and enlightened states of Italy.’—*Essays*, p. 33.

Such indeed might be the aspect of Italy to a superficial glance, but the disease that was to consume her had long been preying on her vitals. She in fact presented rather what the same writer has justly called elsewhere ‘the most appalling of all spectacles—the strength of civilization without its mercy.’ Macchiavelli’s fearless pen has bared the truth: from him we learn that the sloth and luxury of the citizens exposed them to the never-ceasing extortion and insolence of a mercenary soldiery; for, even when threatened by no foreign enemy, they enjoyed no internal peace; princes and republics vied with each other in schemes of aggression, and war was recklessly provoked by men who intended to incur none of its risks. The Condottieri or mercenary bands, who alone were employed, were too wise to destroy each other in the service of their unwarlike paymasters, and the military pride of the commander lay rather in dexterously prolonging a campaign than in bringing it to a close by a brilliant action. National honour disappeared in this ignoble traffic, and the people were demoralized by the horrors of war, though the soldiers avoided its dangers. To this fatal system Macchiavelli attributes the moral degradation of Italy, and its final subjection to the foreign invader. He complains that with valour and chivalry patriotism also had disappeared. Republics and princes he involves in the same censure; both, he says, had equally lost sight of those principles upon which alone their several institutions can be maintained, and in public and in private life all virtue was nearly extinct. So far from attributing this corruption to foreign contact, he deploras the deterioration of the German character since its connexion with Italy. Rome he considers the great source of evil. ‘If the papal court were removed to Switzerland, the simplest and most religious people of Europe would, in an incredibly short time, become utterly depraved by the vicious example of the Italian priesthood.’—*Discorsi*, i. 12.*

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The tragedies in royal palaces, and in the houses of the principal nobles and citizens, showed them as callous to domestic affection as careless of the general weal. 'The chronicles of each capital and the archives of the great families present an array of atrocities which might supply a hundred romancers with materials. We select from Mr. Dennistoun's crowded pages a single example to illustrate this period of 'glory and prosperity.'

The murder of Count Gerolamo, the favourite kinsman of Sixtus IV., who had been established by that pontiff in the lordship of Forlì, was but the opening of a series of horrors. Young Orsi and the other conspirators who slew him and gave up his palace to pillage, next threatened his widow Catherine Sforza with the same fate, unless she would persuade the governor of the citadel to surrender his charge. Her presence of mind saved her own life and overawed the rebels, without compromising the safety of her children, who had been seized and were detained as hostages in their hands. Giovanni Bentivoglio marched to her assistance, and the conspirators fled from the town without making an effort to defend it against him. It was now the lady's turn for vengeance.

'A deep stain attaches to the punishment which she must have sanctioned if she did not direct it, and which was inflicted upon Count Orsi, father of the assassin. The old man, then in his eighty-sixth year, after being exposed on the great square to insults of the soldiery in presence of the whole populace, was bound to a board, and drawn twice round the piazza, his snow-white head projecting, and broken against the sharp stones; his quivering limbs were then hacked in pieces by armed ruffians, whose barbarities, as described by an eye-witness, are too revolting for detail. All this the sufferer endured with a heroism and resignation which produced on the spectators the usual effect of such brutal perversion of justice, and converted their abhorrence of the crime into sympathy with the criminal.'—vol. i. p. 292.

It was the enormous crimes of the chief personages of Italy that provoked the intervention of foreigners; it was to support these very crimes that foreign assistance was invoked. It was the usurper of the throne of Milan, the murderer of his brother's children, who first invited the French invasion; that brother, one of those monsters whose iniquities history in vain recounts to the ear of incredulous posterity, had fallen by the assassin's knife at the foot of the altar—but his subjects were summoned to liberty in vain. The conspiracy of the Pazzi at Florence, still more hideous in all its circumstances, was also conducted in the name of freedom, and executed in a church during the celebration of the mass. It was planned by a pope, and sanctioned by the presence of

of his nephew, a cardinal and archbishop. Yet it is these murders, with many others of a like character, which produced no result, and awakened no enthusiasm at the time of their perpetration, that certain modern writers have ventured to palliate, nay even to applaud. We will not dwell on the miserable plea by which M. Sismondi tries to justify treason and assassination—that there are no other means of encountering the superior advantages possessed by ‘the tyrant.’ Philosophers should abandon to the Jesuits the maxim that the end justifies the means; and if even they do not acknowledge the authority that uttered the command, ‘Thou shalt do no murder,’ we challenge them to show us where they find that a cause ever prospered which was promoted by such means. When was national regeneration ushered in by a crime? Did the slaughter of Cæsar restore the commonwealth of Rome, or those of the Duke of Milan and Giuliano de’ Medici give republican freedom to their native States? In our own times, have such deeds promoted the objects of the perpetrators; have they not invariably led to their discomfiture and confusion? The murder of Count Lemberg alienated all but the determined partisans of revolt from the cause of the unscrupulous Magyars. The assassination of Lignowsky and Aversfeldt was the signal of that re-action in Germany which it was intended to overawe; and the still more atrocious butchery of Rossi led immediately to the ruin of the Republicans in Italy, the unconditional restoration of the Pope, and the occupation of Rome by a foreign army. No nation ever lost its liberties which had virtue enough to deserve them; and the whole fabric of social order must fall at once if each individual is suffered to substitute his own feelings for the standard of right and wrong, and his opinion of expediency for the measure of public good.

These reflections lead us at once to the real cause of the degradation and sufferings of Italy. Morality did not exist, because religion, upon which all morality is based, was corrupt. The only sure foundation for social institutions is religion; it is because religion is weak on the continent in the present day that *socialism*—(as *anti socialism* audaciously styles itself)—is powerful. It was because religion was practically extinct in the sixteenth century that Italy became the prey of the spoiler. Beyond a high and narrow circle, avowed infidelity might be rare; it was not worth while to deny a faith which men so easily conciliated with their passions and their vices. But beneath the surface all was hollow and rotten; universal indifference attended the ministrations of a clergy whose precepts and example were alike evil;
a reform

a reform was urgently called for in the Church throughout all its departments—not least in the highest,—and in the mean time both head and members combined to defend and support each other in every scheme of fraud and violence.

The popes, who had hitherto been chiefly occupied in pushing the extravagant claims of the See, were in the fifteenth century actuated by a passion for aggrandizing their families, which amounted almost to insanity. For this unworthy purpose they abused without restraint their spiritual influence; they enlisted men's worst passions in the promotion of their own selfish interests; and if a tender conscience was startled at the commandments given, the power of the keys was at hand to keep open the gates of salvation. The sorely taxed patience of mankind could endure no further trial. A reformation was near. Since the days of Martin V., whose election closed the scandalous schism of the West, some of the best pontiffs had displayed the doubtful virtues of zealous churchmen; the worst had surpassed the vices of the most profligate laymen. Innocent VIII. exhibited the monstrous spectacle of a pope residing in the Vatican with eight natural children, all publicly acknowledged, for whose advancement he was ready at any moment to break through every tie of honour and to barter the best interests of the Church. Sixtus IV., whose election was notoriously simoniacal, prepared the world, by the scandal of his life, to view the elevation of a Borgia without astonishment. The reign of Alexander VI. achieved the climax of disgrace. The successor of such a Pontiff must needs be looked on with favour. Julius II.—whom Guicciardini has celebrated as 'a sovereign who would have done honour to any throne in Christendom excepting that of Saint Peter'—possessed undoubtedly an energy of character and a fixedness of purpose to which we cannot refuse a certain sort of admiration. His first object was to aggrandize the See by uniting under its dominion all those provinces which it had lost by usurpation or alienation; his second, and greatest, 'to drive the barbarians out of Italy' (and with him all were barbarians who were not born between the sea and the Alps)⁴; yet to effect his first object, we find him forever sacrificing the second. By leaguering himself with these very barbarians to ruin the Venetians, he sacrificed the only State which, by its various resources and consistent policy, could oppose any effectual resistance to 'barbarian invasion.' In revenge for some trifling slight he placed himself at the head of the European league, or rather conspiracy, which had the destruction of the republic for its object, and commenced the campaign by laying the Venetian States under an interdict. The energy and
resolution

resolution of Julius were insufficient to preserve him from the besetting weakness of the papacy; and he in fact contributed more than any of the secular princes, by his ambition and his restlessness, to fix the rivets of foreign domination on the peninsula.

It was at the critical period of the decline of Italian greatness that Guidobaldo, the last duke of the line of Montefeltro, died. That mighty struggle which was to change the destinies of Italy had already begun; and though the name of Francesco-Maria della Rovere, the first duke of the new dynasty, often appears in the progress of the conflict, his share in it neither added to his own reputation nor to the military glory of his country. The founder of the house of Rovere had been a furious and most profligate pope, Sixtus IV.—a native of Savona and the son of a fisherman, to whose profession he had himself in his youth been apprenticed—‘no inappropriate occupation,’ says our author, ‘for one who was destined to wear the fisherman’s ring and wield the authority of him who was divinely called to be a netter of men.’ (vol. ii. p. 268.) After this observation Mr. Dennistoun proceeds to give a long and edifying list of the legitimate and illegitimate branches of the family of Rovere—many of them the offspring of this literal and metaphorical netter of men, and some of them stained with a yet more guilty origin than ordinary bastardy—all of whom Sixtus promoted and enriched, and who all emulated in their different stations the hideous vices of which their kinsman on the throne of St. Peter gave them the example.

In succeeding to the coronet of Urbino, Francesco succeeds to all the fond partiality with which Mr. Dennistoun has hitherto regarded his mother’s family. When we are estimating the character of an Italian prince of the sixteenth century, no very exalted standard of morals should be used, but we are, we confess, astonished at the high admiration with which our author is pleased to regard his new favourite. He tells us (v. ii. p. 303), ‘that his youthful mind was moulded to the noblest forms of chivalry;’ yet he does not attempt to conceal, or even to extenuate, the assassination of the Cardinal Alidosi; and while praising ‘his forbearing temper,’ he acquaints us with the murder of his sister’s paramour, decoyed into the castle of Urbino, and beaten to death with clubs in his presence. The fierceness of his temper, and the cruelty of his revenge when it could safely be gratified, are odiously contrasted with his nervous timidity in his many military commands. In vain does Mr. Dennistoun attempt to reverse the general verdict which has pronounced the eternal disgrace of his flight of Bologna, and, at a later day and in a higher capacity, his no less pusillanimous retreat from before the walls of Milan.

The nepotism of Julius had fixed his relation on a throne; we can hardly be surprised that the nepotism of Leo X., his successor, should disturb the new duke in his possessions. The Pope had no pretext for his violence, but he lived in an age and in a country where violence required no shadow of a pretext. His invasion of the duchy of Urbino excited no surprise and very little indignation. The campaign was opened according to the most approved tactics of the Vatican. The sovereign was invited in a monitory to resign his dominions and to appear at Rome to answer certain accusations preferred against him, under the penalty of excommunication, while his subjects were commanded to renounce their allegiance to him, unless they were prepared for an interdict; both of which threats were upon some slight appearances of hesitation put into execution. The immediate retreat of the duke, and his abject entreaties for a release from ecclesiastical censure, were utterly disregarded; nor was the country restored to the communion of the faithful until it yielded unconditional obedience to the papal commissioners.

This submission of the duke did not prevent his endeavouring to recover his lost dominions by a subsequent appeal to arms; and if our readers have any curiosity to ascertain how languid and spiritless the conduct of a petty warfare could be in the sixteenth century, they will do well to consult Mr. Dennistoun's details. He is of opinion that in the prosecution of it 'the talents of the Duke were developed, his character strengthened, and his fame extended.'—(ii. 387.) To us it appears that treachery, imbecility, and timidity throughout, were pretty equally exhibited on both sides. Francesco invaded his former territory with as little skill as Lorenzo de' Medici, the duke intruded by his uncle Leo X., defended it—nor did the foreign auxiliaries of either party shame their principals by any display of superior activity and enterprise.

The demise of Lorenzo had virtually settled the contest, before that of the Pope restored Francesco-Maria to his states. Lorenzo received a severe wound at the siege of Mondolfo, which, aggravated by a bad habit of body, terminated fatally some time afterwards. This prince (on whom Mr. Dennistoun is unmercifully severe) owes his fame with posterity to the celebrity earned by others. He was the father of Catherine de' Medici, Queen of France, whose birth he survived but five days. To him was dedicated the 'Prince' of Macehiavelli, who is supposed to have drawn up the treatise for his instruction, and it was his tomb, in S. Lorenzo, that Michelangelo decorated with the noblest and most impressive work of modern sculpture. The exit of the dissolute and unscrupulous Leo has
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been ascribed, very probably erroneously, to the agency of his victim Francesco of Urbino. The death of any remarkable person of that period in Italy was invariably attributed to poison. Leo had many enemies, and a conspiracy for his assassination had previously been detected in the sacred college itself, and severely punished. It should, however, in justice be remembered that his favourite hunting seat of Magliana, on the banks of the Tyber, was noted even in that neighbourhood for its pestilential air—that his health had been much weakened by youthful excesses—and that his indulgence in the pleasures of the table was to the last inordinate.

The election of Clement VII., another Medici, which succeeded after a short interval on the death of Leo, brought the affairs of the popedom to a crisis, and hastened the subjugation of Italy. It was the boasted dexterity of Italian statesmen, even more than the unwarlike disposition of the people, or the treachery of mercenary armies, that finally destroyed their national independence. It is true the Italians of all classes looked on foreigners with contempt and aversion, but it is not less certain that vanity and cupidity induced them to solicit those alliances which invariably terminated in fixing more firmly the foreign yoke. It was no love of independence that prompted the great league now formed between the Italian princes and Francis I. against Charles V. Had the allies been successful, it would but have transferred the preponderating influence from Spain to France; and the motive of each individually was selfish aggrandisement. To Venice was promised an accession of territory in Lombardy; to the Pope an increase of the patrimony of the Church, and the establishment of his kinsman in the sovereignty of Florence. This league connects the name of the first Rovere Duke of Urbino with the history of Europe. He was appointed generalissimo of the allied army, and that choice alone would have decided the fate of the campaign. Mr. Dennistoun throws the blame on the army. We will concede that the army was not better than the general. After much precious time had been wasted and numerous opportunities lost, the defeat of the French before Pavia, and the capture of their King, seemed to bring the contest to a termination. The Italian princes, instead of endeavouring to retrieve this misfortune by a common effort, appeared severally intent only on saving their own dominions from invasion, and securing tolerable terms from the Imperialists; and now, had the Spanish leaders pushed their advantages with vigour, their game was sure—but diplomatists protocolled when battles should have been fought. Francis recovered his liberty, and again formed alliances with the Italian princes, and recommenced

his struggle with the rival by whom he had been so repeatedly foiled. Again, wonderful to relate, the Duke of Urbino was placed at the head of the armies of the league — again to exhibit the same timidity or incapacity. It was in the midst of the desultory war that followed, and the abortive but never-ceasing attempts at negotiation, that the Constable Bourbon, being left by his imperial employer without funds and without instructions, and having exhausted whatever resources he could extract from the wealthy capital of Lombardy, executed one of those plans which nothing but his contempt for Italian arms could have led him to conceive and nothing but success could justify. His army, diminished by sickness, by excess, by desertion, ill-paid, undisciplined, and mutinous, did not exceed 11,000 men, while the Duke of Urbino lay between him and his destined prey with more than double that number, and was amply provided with warlike stores and necessaries. Under these disadvantageous circumstances he determined on forcing his way to Rome, seizing the person of the sovereign pontiff, and giving up his capital to pillage. Clement VII. meantime, whose vacillating policy had disgusted his allies and encouraged his enemies, made no opposition to the advance of the Constable, no attempt at defence, no provision for his own personal safety. Confiding in the faith of the imperial viceroy, who had granted him a truce, and relying still more on that impunity which had hitherto shielded popes from the consequences of their own temerity, he saw the approach of Bourbon without alarm, till all hopes of resistance were vain. In a transport of terror he then appealed to the duty, the loyalty, the self-interest of his subjects; but his remonstrances were unheeded, his necessities derided. The people refused to take arms, the nobles to part with their gold. Their shortsightedness is perhaps even more extraordinary than the fatuity of the Pope. The Milvian bridge, by which alone Rome is accessible from the north, was not destroyed; and the licentious army of the Constable reached their mark without a check.

On the painful subject of the sack of Rome, on which our author dwells at an uncalled-for length, we will only observe that the contempt and aversion into which the papacy had fallen could not have been more strikingly illustrated than by the impunity which followed such a crime. Mr. Dennistoun's recital presents no feature of novelty; and in adopting the narrative of his predecessors he also adopts their errors. He attributes the profane enormities practised during this memorable sack to the number of Lutherans in the Constable's army. This excuse, though undoubtedly supported by respectable authority, is probably an invention of
Roman

Roman Catholic writers, to exonerate their co-religionists from the sin of sacrilege. The invading force was principally composed of Italians and Spaniards, and the Germans it contained were naturally recruited in the hereditary states of the house of Austria, among whom the reformed doctrines had made little progress. The Reformation itself dates but from 1517; its advance at first was slow, and it is hardly likely that it had many converts in the imperial ranks of 1527, or indeed that the soldiers of such a camp were addicted to polemical discussion of any sort.

Had the Duke of Urbino shown a little more alacrity at first, he might have prevented the march of the Imperialists on Rome; had he not been utterly insensible to the voice of honour and humanity, he might afterwards have rescued the Pope and punished his barbarous captors. The Pope sent him earnest messages imploring him to quicken his pace. He pursued his course with the utmost deliberation; and, at last, having advanced within sight of Rome and excited the hopes of the captives in S. Angelo, he turned his back on the devoted city, coldly alleging the insufficiency of his forces for its relief, and retreated with precipitation towards the mountains, permitting, if not authorising, worse ravages by his own troops than those which had before been perpetrated by the enemy. His conduct in approaching the capital and then retreating without hazarding a blow, has been ascribed to a vindictive hatred for the house of Medicis, which could be satisfied with nothing less than feasting his eyes on the misery he might have averted, and would not relieve. Such motives may have had their influence; but we can conceive many more cogent for shrinking from the fury of Bourbon's savage soldiery, interrupted in the first enjoyment of their vast plunder. With this crowning act of baseness the public life of Francesco-Maria closes. Italy was about to end its long struggle in inglorious repose, and to receive the law from the will of its master.

The coronation of the Emperor, which followed close upon the capture of Rome, was no empty ceremony, such as that from which his predecessors had derived little but a barren title and a disputed prerogative. Charles V. was indeed 'king of Italy' and arbiter of its destinies, and it was with royal prodigality that he now dispensed honours and dignities amongst his degraded tributaries. Pope Clement, in the peace that was dictated to him on this occasion, lost neither territory nor spiritual privilege: he even obtained the assistance of the Imperial troops in placing his kinsman Alessandro de' Medici on the throne of Florence. The independence of Italy had indeed passed away, and its princes were crest-fallen and humiliated; but had the people cause to repine?

pipe? Peace at least and its accompanying blessings were secured. Powerful armies no longer swept over the Peninsula, making its plains the fighting ground of Europe. Henceforth petty states were not permitted to exhaust their strength in ceaseless hostilities, and military adventurers could no longer hope to carve principalities for themselves out of the territories of their deluded employers. With an altered policy morals improved, and public decency was not again outraged by the election of such popes as Sixtus and Alexander.

The Spanish rule, though dull and ungenial, had none of the worst characteristics of foreign domination. The two nations were entirely separated;—wealthy Italians did not abandon their own country to court favour at Madrid, nor did adventurers from Spain flock to Italy to seek their fortune. Few traces of Spanish sway will be found in the peninsula: the spiritual concerns of the provinces were left to their own clergy, and, in spite of the bigotry of the Court, it never succeeded in introducing the Inquisition.

The Milanese, on the whole, prospered under the Spanish sway; and if the peasantry were oppressed, the injury was inflicted by their own countrymen. Naples fared less well; its rich resources were suffered to lie dormant, and the sloth and idleness of the people were stimulated to no exertion. More advances have been made in material civilisation in that beautiful country within the last twenty years than the whole of the two preceding centuries could accomplish. The decline of Venice from the period of Spanish supremacy was constant if not rapid; but the geography of the world had changed, and with it the channels of commerce, and Spanish colonies contributed more to this misfortune than the neighbourhood of Spanish viceroys.

The fate of Urbino amidst these changes may be told in a few words. In 1538 Duke Francesco-Maria expired, and not without the usual suspicion of foul play. His barber was accused of pouring poison into his ear, a mode of death for which the catastrophe of the king in *Hamlet*, as far as we know, supplies the only precedent; and though there is no appearance that either proof was adduced or motive assigned, the unhappy man was torn to pieces with hot pincers, and his body quartered in the market-place of Pesaro. At the time of his decease the Duke was about to undertake a crusade against the Turks, and his plan included the capture of Constantinople and the expulsion of the Moslems from Europe—a scheme, Mr. Dennistoun seems to think, only defeated by the inopportune death of the generalissimo.

He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son Guidobaldo II., of whom the researches of his historian have failed in recovering
any

any particulars beyond the dates of his birth, his marriage, and his death. He transferred the seat of government to Pesaro, nearly abandoning the beautiful castle of Urbino. His government seems to have been unpopular and his people mutinous, but he was strong in the favour and protection of Spain, whose adherent and pensioner he was. Philip II. found it the easiest and the surest method of governing the peninsula to purchase the subservience of its native chiefs under the polite fiction of military pay.

The son of this prince, Francesco-Maria II., the last Duke of Urbino, was born in 1549. In 1574 he came to his throne, having shortly before married Lucretia, daughter of the Duke of Ferrara, from whom he soon after separated. It is remarkable how much the history of the royal families of Italy abounds in instances of morbid melancholy and gloomy apathy, degenerating into downright insanity. Few instances occur in the reigning houses of Mantua, Ferrara, Parma, or Florence, of a prince using with taste and discretion the advantages of his enviable position and rendering his little court the centre of gaiety and polished enjoyment. Most of them were morose and jealous men, bigoted, harsh, and avaricious; some, indeed, loved pleasure and practised profligacy, but they did not the less shun the intercourse of their subjects, or seclude themselves with less nervous suspicion. If art and literature ever penetrated into the recesses of the palace, they might enliven the solitude of its inmate, but they imparted no generous or genial glow of philanthropy. Francesco-Maria, though by no means devoid of taste—fond of literature, and passionately addicted to field-sports—yet shut himself out from the world, living almost constantly in a convent or convent-like castle, and totally neglecting the duties of his station. Mr. Dennistoun is anxious to establish his reputation for talent, but unluckily his princely client has left a diary in which he sets down each change of place and the result of each day's sport, but not one interesting incident, no single valuable remark.

‘It is a narrow folio volume, like an index-book, containing about two hundred pages entirely in his own hand. The entries are limited to a bare notice of facts, without comment. The topics most frequently registered are the passage of remarkable strangers through Pesaro, the births, marriages, and deaths of persons of rank, his own periodical movements to his various residences and visits to other parts of the duchy, his frequent hunting parties in autumn and winter, chiefly from Castel Durante, his taking medicine, including regular semestral purgations, in spring and autumn.’—iii. 147.

The death of his consort is thus laconically recorded :—‘Feb.
15,

15. 1598. Heard that Mad^e. Lucrezia d'Este, Duchess of Urbino, my wife, died at Ferrara during the night of the 11th.' Upon this event, the entreaties of his people rather than his own inclinations induced him to marry a second time, and his choice fell upon his cousin Donna Livia della Rovere, daughter of the Marquess of S. Lorenzo. Shortly afterwards a son was born, and the people of Urbino were relieved from the apprehension of passing under the papal dominion. Francesco-Maria, like many other parents, found it more amusing and less troublesome to spoil his son than to instruct him. Like Mr. Shandy, whose 'Tristrapædia' lagged far behind the young Tristram's growth, the Duke drew up a code of maxims for the guidance of his heir, and in the mean time abandoned him wholly to menials and sycophants, who were permitted to humour him in every whim and folly. Such an education produced the natural consequences; and when Prince Federigo's excesses brought his career to a close in his eighteenth year, no one lamented his fate, and least of all his father. The old man heard the news of his son's sudden death without a tear or a sigh, pithily observing to his attendants, who trembled in the anticipation of a burst of sorrow—'He who lives badly comes to a bad end, and one born by a miracle dies by violence.' (iii. 193.)

The Duke, who had before virtually abdicated in favour of his unworthy son, was now compelled to resume the reins of government, at least till he could throw them into other hands. The defunct prince had married Claudia de' Medici, daughter of Ferdinand, grand-duke of Tuscany, and by her he left a daughter. The first duty of the Duke was to dispose of this precious infant. He conducted that business with the same heartless indifference he had exhibited on every other occasion. She was separated from her mother, who was afterwards remarried, and was consigned to the guardianship of her uncle the grand-duke, who promised to wed her himself, provided she should be declared the heiress of all her grandfather's allodial and personal property. The whole of these arrangements were completed within four months of young Federigo's death.

Meantime, the devolution of the Duchy became a subject of first-rate importance to the newly-elected pope, Urban VIII., and he was much alarmed by hearing that the Emperor Ferdinand II., who was nearly related to the feeble Duke, had already made overtures directly at variance with the interests of the church. Ferdinand, though the inheritor of all the pretensions of his predecessors, possessed no means of enforcing them. Urban claimed Urbino as a lapsed fief of the Holy See; he was close at hand, and wielded with uncommon dexterity all those weapons by which the

the will of the aged, the timid, and the pious, is moulded into obedience. Ecclesiastics devoted to the pope were intruded into the vacant sees of the duchy, and the duke's sick bed was surrounded by subordinate agents; who

'wore him out by alternately working on his irritable disposition, his avarice, and his superstitious belief in astrology. Every turn of his malady was watched, and reported to Rome, as a matter of home fresh anxiety, whilst his palace was beset by troublesome and meddling spies. . . . His constitution, impaired by years and broken by gout, gave way under his agony of mind, and a paralytic seizure ; additional breaches upon his system.'—iii. 207.

His pride, or rather obstinacy, at length gave way, and he consented, on certain conditions, to resign his sovereignty into the hands of a papal commissioner. We do not understand Dennistoun's anxiety to give the pope credit for 'the self-policy becoming the head of the Christian church' in his wish with the Duke of Urbino ; it is true he contented himself with embittering the life of the old man instead of curtailing it by a dagger or a bowl—the course which so many of his predecessors would certainly have adopted—but he had not the power to bestow the lapsed fief on his nephews : the attempt to do so would have raised him the hostility of Spain, Florence, and the Empire, and would have terminated, most probably, in alienating the Duchy for ever from the Holy See.

The Duke did not wish to endow the papacy with any property he could withhold from it. His allodial possessions were secured to his natural heirs, and for himself he reserved a pension, with the use of some of his own castles during his life. His favourite abode had long been Castel Durante (which the vainglory of the pope converted into *Urbania*), a town situated on the banks of the Metauro, surrounded by beautiful country abounding in game, and in the close vicinity of the royal deer-park. There he continued to reside, and in the company of the monks of the Franciscan convent, which he himself had endowed, like his ancestor, Guido of Montefeltro, he sought the thorny road to heaven. There is no sign that he had ever spent a thought on any one's sufferings but his own ; and now these became more and more severe. His life was prolonged till he became a burden to himself as well as to all around him. He expired in 1631, aged 88 years.

By his will his grand-daughter was his principal heir. He left large sums to religious bodies. The fine library which he had formed at Castel Durante he bequeathed to his favoured Franciscan convent, stipulating, however, that such manuscripts and volumes of drawings as it contained should be sent to enrich the MS. library brought together by Duke Federigo, and which con-

tinued

tinued at Urbino. This last-named superb collection, amounting to 1793 volumes, was left as the inalienable possession of that capital, with ample funds to defray its careful preservation in the Castle. The whole of it, however, was afterwards removed to Rome by Alexander VII. By this order the pope, no doubt, intrenched on the rights of public property, and trampled on the will of a benefactor to whom the church had many obligations; yet we cannot deny that there is much to be said in apology for him. At Urbino a library of manuscripts would have been rarely visited, while its value would necessarily deteriorate in the damp and neglect to which it was likely to be consigned. It is now, after the lapse of more than two centuries, the chief ornament of the noble hall of the Vatican, conspicuous for the beauty of the penmanship, the elegance of the illustrations, and the magnificence of the binding. The will of the duke was equally violated in the ultimate destination of his printed library; but here again we must admit that the decision of the same pope does credit to his judgment if not to his respect for the intentions of the deceased. The whole was transported to the College of the Sapienza at Rome, hitherto unprovided with books, where it still remains, and to which, under certain restrictions, the public is admitted.

On the devolution of Urbino to the papacy, the Italians indulged in all those complaints which invariably follow the slightest advance to that consolidation of states, and that unity of interests, which they profess to be the grand object of their wishes—and a doleful list of grievances is presented us—‘palaces falling into neglect, gardens overgrown with weeds, degraded castles, and absentee nobility’ (vol. iii. p. 233): these were unavoidable; but, as Mr. Dennistoun justly observes, whatever objection there may be to the papal sway, ‘it cannot in fairness be regarded as otherwise than mild.’

We trust that few will think we have wasted their time in presenting this abridgment of Mr. Dennistoun’s historical chapters. There is, perhaps, no readier method of comprehending the complicated social system of the Italians than steadily pursuing the fortunes of a single state; and Urbino, notwithstanding its insignificance on the map, offers many advantages for this investigation. It was, however, to its connexion with the arts and literature of Italy that it owed the attention Mr. Dennistoun has bestowed upon it; and it would be unjust to dismiss this laborious section of his work without some special notice.

In limine he devotes a few pages to two vexed questions;—first, whether the number of petty sovereignties, into which the peninsula was divided, was favourable to the development of civilization—

civilization—and secondly, whether the monarchical or republican states were most prolific of talent. A certain degree of leisure, we take it, is necessary for the cultivation of art and letters, as wealth is for their subsequent encouragement. Leisure can hardly exist where every citizen is engaged in the act of government—neither in very small states is there usually found any surplus revenue to be devoted to purposes exclusively ornamental. Mr. Dennistoun observes that Lucca, Pisa, and Siena are far behind other provincial capitals in the literary history of Italy; while Pandolfo Malatesta, lord of Rimini, Francis Sforza, and Ludovico, his brother, at Milan, the Marquises of Mantua and Ferrara, and the Dukes of Urbino,—though all petty princes, and some of them ruling over states possessing very slender resources,—distinguished themselves not only by a liberal patronage of men of genius, but by their own personal accomplishments. These small principalities were inferior in general wealth, it would seem, to the republican States which our author has cited, and might never perhaps have had the opportunity of rendering themselves remarkable had their form of government not been monarchical, and their several sovereigns possessed the means of encouraging art, with the taste to bestow their patronage well. The opening spirit of centralization in the sixteenth century destroyed the activity of these petty capitals by incorporating them with larger states; but many of them still preserved the reputation they had acquired in the commonwealth of letters.

The fifteenth century in Italy was prolific rather in scholars than in creative minds, and the literary history of Urbino forms no exception. Few of the learned persons whom the reputation of the court drew to the capital were natives of the duchy; fewer still possessed the fire of genius, without which merits far greater than they possessed will not secure immortality. We have no intention of following Mr. Dennistoun through his long list of mediocrity; Gentile de' Bicci, Francesco Venturini, Baldi, Berni of Gubbio, &c. &c. were very erudite men, but their works have long ago been doomed to 'the tomb of the Capulets.' If the name of Polydore Virgil excites more curiosity, it is because he was promoted to church benefices in our own country, and because he is the author of a book, (undertaken, it is said, at the suggestion of Henry VII.) which, though superficial and full of errors, continues to possess some interest as the history of a constitutional monarchy by the hand of an Italian priest.*

* Leland regrets that a writer so little trustworthy should have cast over his deceptions the graces of style. 'Anticipating, perhaps,' says Mr. Dennistoun, 'such an aspersum, in his dedication of the work to Henry VIII., dated London, 1530, he compared the chronicles of Bede and Gillas, crude in form and phraseology, to meat served up without salt, which it was his object to supply.'—ii. 112.

Cardinal Bembo, though residing much at Urbino, was a noble Venetian. A flowery orator, an unsuccessful diplomatist, and a disreputable priest, he deserves not much higher credit as an historian. His chief work in that line, much extolled in its day, is inaccurate in statements, faulty in arrangement, and totally without dates. He valued himself principally on the purity of his Latin; and in his anxiety to preserve classic idiom he has sacrificed all character and keeping, producing only a cold and pompous imitation from which life and interest are banished—forgetting, as Mr. Dennistoun justly says, in his devout worship of Cicero, the allowance due to modern times, principles, and feelings—converting the Almighty into a pantheistic generality, the Saviour into a hero, and the Virgin into the goddess of Loreto.* Nor has his own Italian version any greater liveliness: pedantry and prolixity are its pervading characteristics. ‘Pains, reading, study,’ his pages show abundantly;

‘And all they want is spirit, sense, and taste.’

Among his numerous writings, embracing every subject, the best known are the ‘Asolani’ dialogues, supposed to have been held at the Castle of Asolo, the residence of the dethroned Queen of Cyprus, the celebrated Catherine Cornara, in which the topic of love is handled, not always with delicacy, although invariably with the frigid insipidity of a school exercise. The Cardinal’s letters are better worth attention than his more ambitious performances; they sometimes embalm a curious fact amidst the verbose inanities of unmeaning compliment and the thin disguises of an overweening vanity.

Baldassare Castiglione, the *arbiter elegantiarum* of the court of Urbino, superior in talent to any of these, was of a noble family, connected with the Marquess of Mantua, of whose states he was a native. He was greatly favoured by the princes of Urbino, and employed by them in many confidential services. He was the proxy of Duke Federigo at Windsor in the ceremony of his installation as Knight of the Garter, and he resided several years in England, where his graceful manners and agreeable conversation secured him the favour of our Henry VII. His ‘Cortegiano’ had an extensive and continued popularity. Upon this celebrated treatise Mr. Dennistoun pronounces a panegyric which we cannot echo. We are very ready to admit its value as a magazine of costume; but the colloquies are

* He is said to have seriously advised a young divine of his acquaintance to avoid studying the Epistles of St. Paul, lest the latinity of the Vulgate should injure his style.

unmercifully spun out, and the anecdotes have not always wit to excuse coarseness.

For the verse of this famed period still less is to be said. Chronicles, treatises, and epistles may possess value, independent of all literary merit; but although Mr. Dennistoun does what he can for the poets of his favourite district by printing their names in capital letters, we fear he will fail to excite much interest about them. Filelfo, Accolti, Rustico, and so forth, with the dates of their births, weddings, and deaths—might have been left to a dignified repose in the 'dizionario degli uomini illustri.' Their works are rare, but *not high-priced*;—and 'clean copies' adorn the shelves of collectors 'curious in books' rather than in authors.

Mr. Dennistoun claims for Urbino the merit of inventing the modern drama;—and, though this pretension is by no means undisputed, it is certain that plays were acted in the Castle at an early date, and 'got up with scenery and decorations' by Timoteo della Vite and other able hands. Many of these theatrical pieces have been printed, but they will be found to possess slender merit; a skilful copying of Plautus and Terence was more esteemed than a faithful representation of living manners, vivacity of dialogue, or interest of situation.

If the literary productions of the fifteenth century deserve little admiration, the art of painting advanced during its progress to the culminating point; and all those artists to whom the palm of excellence has been awarded were born before its close, though the lives of some, prolonged beyond the usual span, reached far down into that which succeeded.

Mr. Dennistoun regrets that Lanzi has given no separate place to the *Umbrian Masters* among the fourteen Schools under which he has ranged Italian painting (vol. ii. p. 174). Lanzi, however, was perfectly right—since not only, as our author admits, no particular town could be fixed on as the head-quarters of the school, but no school did in fact exist in Mr. Dennistoun's Umbria. This 'Umbria' itself, by the way, is a pedantic and arbitrary division of the peninsula, invented by Professor Rumohr, and not coinciding either with the present or the ancient limits of that name. The actual province so called contains not part of the duchy of Urbino, nor of the districts of Perugia or Orvieto—while that of the ancients included not only all these but a portion of Tuscany and the March of Ancona. After all, very few of the painters included in Mr. Dennistoun's copious list were born in the duchy of Urbino, still fewer in the capital. They were mostly attracted to it by the reputation of the court, or the hopes of employment which were held out to them by the decoration

coration of the cathedral at Orvieto and of the sanctuary at Assisi.

After enumerating various painters, or rather illuminators of missals, whose names are preserved but whose works have perished, Mr. Dennistoun seems to refer the foundation of the 'Umbrian School' to Gentile da Fabriano, a pupil of the Beato Angelico da Fiesole. Gentile was however more probably a native of Verona than of the town whose name he bears, and not a few writers question his having ever studied under the Beato Angelico—so little can be ascertained of the lives of artists to whom modern criticism (or cant) persists in assigning an importance which neither their own nor the succeeding age ever acknowledged. The works of Fabriano will be found in various parts of Italy, and will be admired for their careful finish, and for the expression of the heads. Mr. Dennistoun tells us (vol. ii. p. 137) that when he left the studio of Fra Beato he carried away with him his master's taste for rich brocade, gold leaf, fruit, and flowers;—we farther hear, however, that he did not retain these precious inspirations the whole of his life, and that his performances became 'gradually tinged with naturalism.'—(p. 186.)

We observe it is not without some violence to his good taste that Mr. Dennistoun plunges into the depths of mystic criticism to which his German guides have led him, and whither assuredly we shall not attempt to follow him. From many of his opinions we dissent so entirely that argument is useless. We presume it is rather to propitiate Dusseldorf and Munich than his own northern Athens that Mr. Dennistoun goes out of his way to tax Hogarth with 'ribald vulgarity' in the very page in which he terms him 'the incarnation of our national taste in painting.' Hogarth, we are informed, 'saw in those spiritualised cherubim which usually minister to the holiest compositions of the Umbrian School, only an infant's head with a pair of duck's wings under its chin.' In opposition to these 'grovelling views' the historian cites the great Florentine reformer, who decided that 'the perfection of the bodily form is relative to the beauty of the mind.' But Mr. Dennistoun relents; he will not be too hard upon Hogarth, 'from whom he does not expect a due appreciation of the fervid conceptions of Christian art, any more than he looks for sympathy for the pothouse personifications of Hogarth from the pious Savonarola. English caricatures,' he proceeds, 'and Dutch familiar scenes are addressed to the most uncultivated minds; Umbrian and Siennese paintings can be understood only after a long examination and elevated thought. The former, therefore, satisfy the unintelligent many—the latter delight the enlightened few.' (ii. p. 162.)

We

We are quite resigned to being classed among 'the unintelligent many' who do not look down upon *Marriage à-la-mode* and the *Harlot's Progress* as 'English caricatures'; we do not envy the refinement which incapacitates any man for the enjoyment of mere nature, wit, pathos, and inventive genius. But we also collect that Michael Angelo is no favourite with our author—the admirers of Hogarth may be satisfied!

The Beato Angelico Mr. Dennistoun considers the prototype of the Umbrian School, and he practised his art, it should seem, upon principles that we can hardly expect to see adopted into modern academics.

'Regarding his painting in the light of a God-gift, he never sat down to exercise it without offering up orisons for divine influence; nor did he assume his palette until he felt these answered by a glow of holy inspiration. His pencil thus literally embodied the language of prayer; his compositions were the result of long contemplation on mystic revelations; his Madonnas borrowed their sweet and sinless expression from ecstatic visions; the Passion of our Saviour was conceived by him in tearful penitence, and executed with sobs and sighs. Deeming the forms he thus depicted to proceed from supernatural dictation, he never would alter or retouch them; and though his works are generally brought to the highest attainable finish, the impress of their first conception remains unchanged. To the unimaginative materialism of the present day these sentences may seem idle absurdities; but they illustrate the character of Fra Giovanni, and no painter ever so thoroughly instilled his character into his works.'—ii. 184.

We think Mr. Dennistoun would do well to leave æsthetics to German philosophers and their sympathising, and not always sober, audiences—they are not likely to find much favour in England, nor do they indeed accord well with the customary turn and tone of Mr. Dennistoun's own mind and style. We should be very glad if he could prove that good morals and good drawing were connected, but we fear it is in vain to emulate the success of the great masters of the fifteenth century, by listening to a mass in the morning rather than attending the anatomy schools, and by invoking the assistance of the Virgin instead of hiring good models.—The following period is most Johnsonian:—

'Those who have neither imbibed the spirit of the Roman ritual, nor studied the forms of Christian art, may fully appreciate the dishevelled goddesses of Rubens, or the golden Sunsets of Claude; but let them understand ere they sneer at those sacred paintings which for successive ages have confirmed the faith of the unlettered, elevated their hopes, and inspired their prayerful ejaculations.'—vol. iii. p. 323.

In that case we should close our academics. But criticism is not excepted from the jurisdiction of fact. Was not Claude a
Roman

Roman Catholic, and Rubens a devout Fleming, the favourite of the Jesuits and of the most bigoted of Spanish courts? If painters imagine that, in furnishing idols for popular worship, they are performing acceptable service, we presume the style of their productions can in nowise affect the merit of their intention. We have much forbearance for superstition—it is the natural growth of ardent and ignorant minds—but we have none at all for the affectation of it. Mr. Dennistoun must excuse us, but his sincerity can only be defended at the expense of his common sense.

When civilisation began to recover the eclipse that followed the downfall of the Roman Empire, the church was the only field in which the artist could exhibit—the churchman his only patron. Social life was too rude to require the ornament of dwellings—property was too insecure to invite accumulation. Sacred subjects were obviously the fittest for the only purpose to which art was applied—but as light became diffused, a naturally impressible and imaginative people demanded the assistance of art in the interior decoration of their houses—and a change of subject became not only desirable but necessary, since an Italian of the fifteenth century would no more have covered a pannel in his dining-room with a martyrdom than he would have put a crucifix on his sideboard.

Even during the life of the Beato Angelico (who, Mr. Dennistoun seems to suppose, produced his pictures under the direct inspiration of the Virgin and the Saints) manual dexterity and academic knowledge had made vast progress, but, considering the ‘marvellous assistance’ which he enjoyed, we can hardly wonder that he did not deign to accept much benefit from them. Luca Signorelli was sixteen years of age when the Beato died; Masaccio, though a younger man, died twelve years before him; and to these two great artists more than to any others the invention of ‘the modern manner’ belongs; to them the honour may be ascribed of having been the real instructors and precursors of Michelangelo and Raphael.

We proceed with our enumeration of some of those painters who are claimed for the Umbrian School. Pietro della Francesca was a native of Borgo S. Sepolcro: though neither devoid of diligence nor of accuracy, he derives perhaps his best title to the respect of posterity from having been the master of Luca Signorelli. Of Fra Carnovale, whom Mr. Dennistoun calls ‘a talented limner’ and ‘a parish priest,’* little is known, and

* Vasari always speaks of him as the inmate professor of a convent. The ‘Fra’ before his name would lead us to conclude that he was so; but he may at some time have had charge of a parish whereof his community possessed the tithes.

few of his works are extant. Our author is anxious to exonerate him from 'a tendency to naturalism,' a charge to which he is exposed for having introduced the portrait of a sublunar patroness into a votive picture. That he did so, we can readily believe, but we think any critic less shocked by the enormity of such a crime than Mr. Dennistoun seems to be, would acquit him of all 'naturalistic tendencies' on the first examination of any of his stiff and primitive performances. Timoteo della Vite has sometimes had the honour of having his works sold for early performances of Raphael. Girolamo della Genga belongs also to this age and country—but we think the claims of Urbino on the gratitude of the world of art must rest on having produced Bramante, Raphael, and Baroccio. It is not surprising that these remarkable men should have received their education in other schools, and sought for wealthier patrons and a wider stage for the display of their talents than Urbino could furnish. Bramante was the early instructor, and, if we may believe Vasari, the relation of Raphael. Both a sculptor and a painter, he was destined to be better known as an architect; but possessing more taste than genius and more fancy than imagination, he was unequal to the task assigned him. He was the original architect of St. Peter's; and he involved the fabric in a complication of confusion from which nothing short of the inspiration of Michelangelo could have extricated it.

Mr. Dennistoun devotes some pages to the life of Raphael and a critique upon his works. Little of importance, however, can be gleaned that has escaped Vasari; in fact succeeding biographers have achieved nothing beyond a fresh arrangement of his notices and a more exact catalogue of the great artist's pictures. We not long ago treated this subject at some length in an article on M. Passavant's respectable book—(Q. R., vol. lxvi.)—and have little now to add. Giovanni Sanzio, the father of Raphael, died while his son was yet a child; had he lived, we cannot but think he would have proved an abler instructor than Pietro Perugino, with whom the juvenile prodigy was soon after placed. The works of Giovanni Sanzio are rare—very few of them have reached this country.* An altarpiece in the church of S. Francesco at Urbino gives us a very high idea of his powers. Under his tuition we have no doubt the young painter would sooner have emancipated himself from the affectation and mannerism of his day. The progress of Raphael was slow; his youthful efforts hardly presage his triumphs. The earliest works of Michelangelo are marvellous; but what eye

* Sir John Sebright, a collector of uncommon taste and acumen, possesses a fine specimen of this rare master.

can discern in the frescoes of Siena the future painter of the Vatican Stanze?

Mr. Dennistoun is anxious to defend his favourite from the imputation of borrowing from Michelangelo, and professes to discover little trace of imitation. Raphael condescended to no servile plagiarism certainly from his illustrious contemporary; but his style was enlarged after his examination of the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, and subsequent improvement may be traced in a more philosophical treatment of his subject, and in the increased sublimity of the whole conception. Michelangelo, with the force of irresistible genius, gave a fresh impulse to art, and in every branch established a new criterion of excellence:—

‘He was followed by Raphael’—says the discerning and eloquent Fuseli—‘the painter of humanity; less vigorous, less elevated than Michelangelo, but more insinuating, more pressing on our hearts—the warm master of all our sympathies. . . . Perfect human beauty he has not represented; form to him was only a vehicle of character or pathos, and these he adapted in a mode and with a truth which leave all attempts at emendation hopeless. . . . If separately taken, the line of Raphael has been excelled in correctness, elegance, and energy; his colour far surpassed in tone, and truth, and harmony—his masses in roundness—and his chiaroscuro in effect; considered as instruments of pathos, they have never been equalled; and in composition, invention, expression, and the power of telling a story, he has never been approached.’—*Lectures*, vol. ii. p. 88.

The originality of this wonderful man or of any of his contemporaries must not be impugned on account of resemblances that may be discovered in the mode of treating subjects often handled by their predecessors. It should be remembered that when Raphael commenced his career, and indeed long after he had ended it, the *liturgical* method of representing certain persons and incidents was still continued. In the Greek Church a painter, frequently a monk, at all events a graduate in one of the inferior ranks of ordination, was attached to the cathedral or convent, whose exclusive privilege it was to produce portraits of the Panagia and the Saints, drawn upon an orthodox pattern, from which no deviation was permitted. The Latin Church, to be sure, had never accomplished such complete uniformity; it was offended, however, when any innovations were introduced into established methods. It dictated the colours of our Saviour's tunic, the fashion of the Virgin's robes, the costume of the angels, and the livery of all the Apostles. The alleged ‘plagiarism’ of Raphael he would have appealed to as a dexterous compliance with an admitted necessity. In his Transfiguration he has followed an ancient model in representing in the same picture the
vision

vision on the Mount and the scene of demoniac possession below; only his genius supplied the pointing finger of the Apostle, indicating the vicinity of certain help, and connecting the subjects together. It would be a curious and interesting study to trace the treatment of the same subject by a succession of painters from the revival of art to the days of Michelangelo. Even he, the mightiest and most original of Italian masters, accepted the conceptions of his predecessors, and made them his own by his treatment. * The Creation of Adam and Eve, on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, their Expulsion from Paradise, and the Last Judgment, exhibit little novelty in the composition; and the introduction even of the ferryman Charon, which Mr. Dennistoun censures as a novelty in his representation of the infernal regions, had before been adopted by Orcagna in his illustrations of the visions of Dante, in the church of St. Maria Novella.

It was in subjects drawn from profane history and fable that Raphael exhibited all the richness of his fancy. Here we trace that advancement in anatomical accuracy which Mr. Dennistoun deplors as the necessary consequence of the 'growing naturalism of his time'—(ii. 234). Our taste is, fortunately for us, less refined than Mr. Dennistoun's, and we can admire works of art that 'descend to a close imitation of nature.' It was this condescension that made Phidias the greatest of artists, and which afterwards placed Michelangelo, Raphael, and Titian on a level not much beneath him. The frescoes of the Farnesina and the story of Cupid and Psyche, with other works, as preserved and multiplied by the graver of Marcantonio, exhibit all the freshness and invention of Raphael; but to form an idea of his grandeur a visit to Rome is indispensable. The taste and partiality of Julius and Leo confided to him the decoration of the Vatican, and the works of preceding artists, however hitherto esteemed, were unhesitatingly destroyed to make room for the rising genius. Michelangelo had treated the subject of Theocracy in the Sistine Chapel. The spread of the true faith and the glory of the pontificate were the fitting themes in the palace which the popes were to inhabit. Every subject represented in this series illustrates the intended allegory. 'The triumph of the Cross and the establishment of Christianity are accomplished in the victory of Constantine, and the alliance of religion with the state in the baptism of that prince and the coronation of Charlemaigne. The divine authority of the See is manifested in the 'Justification' of Leo and Miracle of the Borgo, and the retreat of Attila from the walls of the sacred city. The supremacy of the Church is typified in the expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple—and that of the Pope in the donation of Constantine

stantine and the captive Saracens brought in chains to his judgment seat. The 'Dispute of the Sacrament' is the revelation of the holy mystery, and 'the Miracle of Bolsena' establishes to the confusion of infidelity the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Great as the Italian masters are in their easel pictures, it is in their frescoes alone that they reach their highest excellence. To judge of the magnitude of the powers of Correggio, Parma must be visited, for of the numerous pictures which bear his name and that of Raphael, filling every collection in Europe, how small a proportion have any claim to originality! Yet many of these spurious pictures have been puffed into celebrity. The trade of criticism has fallen into the hands of men who have an interest in raising their own or their friends' possessions into importance, and their æsthetical raptures are, in fact, the best advertisement. Barry, the painter, shrewdly observed that no opinion should be received with so much caution as that of a petty collector. Whatever high-sounding words may be for ever in his mouth, he is often ignorant of *high art*, nay, even hostile to it; his standard of merit being formed by the specimens his own petty museum contains. Mr. Dennistoun has been indefatigable in his researches, and we are obliged to him for a vast deal of valuable information, but we lost much of our respect for his judgment when we discovered that he is a small collector.

German critics have lately attempted to establish for their country a sort of rivalry with Italy in the early cultivation of the arts, and some English writers have rashly admitted the pretension. This or that mechanical or chemical process may have been discovered in Germany or Flanders—though we believe it is now generally thought that even *oil-painting* had its real cradle among the Byzantine monks—but if any human achievement deserves the title of originality, it is the *Art of Italy*. If any influence can be traced to Germany at all, it was of a sinister character. Marcantonio wasted precious time in copying the engravings of Albert Durer, which considerably delayed his progress, and the stiff and angular foldings of the same artist may be found disfiguring the broad and monumental drapery of Andrea del Sarto.

Frederico Baroccio, born in 1528, eight years after the death of Raphael, belonged to a family of artists; his grandfather was a sculptor of no mean reputation, employed by Duke Federigo in the decoration of the castle of Urbino—and his elder brother was a skilful mechanician, much favoured by the princes of the house of Rovere, who all seem to have possessed an hereditary taste for jewellery and watchmaking. He was born at Urbino, and passed much of his youth at Pesaro, attracted thither by the picture-gallery in the duke's favourite villa. He afterwards

afterwards visited Florence and Rome. His style was formed from the observation of the works of Correggio and Parmegiano; and he sometimes approaches these masters. While at Urbino no single picture by Raphael is to be found, nor any building that can be assigned to Bramante—the pictures of Baroccio are numerous. They are all in churches or convents, and the subjects are consequently sacred; they are, indeed, handled with so much licence of composition, such variety of light and shade, and such brilliancy of colouring, that all solemnity is lost—but the great ability of the artist is undeniable.

The Zuccari were also natives of Urbino, and contemporaries of Baroccio. They painted much in Spain, at Rome, at Florence, and at Caprarola. They belong to the class of decorative painters, of whom Italy has produced so many, and to whom her churches, palaces, and villas owe so much. Federico Zuccaro was in great vogue at Rome, and was made President of the Academy of Painters by the favour of the reigning Pope. He lived in the luxury of opulence, and decorated his residence on the Pincian hill with lunettes, medallions, and arabesques of his own invention. The house remained long in the possession of his descendants; but it was inhabited at the beginning of the present century by M. Bertoldy, the Prussian consul, and may be regarded, says Mr. Dennistoun,

‘as the cradle of the modern school of painting. The frescoes on which Overbeck, Cornelius, Schnor, and Veit first essayed that elevated and pure style which has regenerated European taste—these attract many an admirer, little aware that the basement rooms, abandoned to menial uses, contain some of the latest efforts of Cinquecento decoration that have fair pretensions to merit.’—(Vol. iii. p. 348.)

We are sorry to hear this for the credit of the taste of our age. The productions of the Zuccari, faulty as they are, have life, spirit, invention, originality—in which the hard, flat, stiff novelties so admired by Mr. Dennistoun are totally deficient. The arts have no greater enemy to contend with than affectation, and it is the worst of affectation to imitate the defects of our predecessors.

The territory of Urbino was famous for having improved the manufacture of pottery, and, like all the material productions of Italy at that period, it sought the assistance of the fine arts. Many examples are graceful and elegant in form, and, though coarse in execution, have great beauty of design. The Robbia family at Florence had executed beautiful groups and bas-reliefs in vitrified clay, of which numerous specimens exist throughout Tuscany to this day. The secret of the manufactory died with the last member of the family, and the attempt to revive it in this practical age has not yet been crowned with success. We shall pursue this

this interesting subject no farther at present. Mr. Marryat's clever and elegantly-illustrated History of Pottery and Porcelain in modern Europe and among the nations of the East has been for some time before the public, and would require a more comprehensive consideration than we have space to give it—we may discuss it perhaps at some future time in connexion with a work announced by Mr. Birch upon the still more beautiful specimens of the ceramic art which the Greeks and Etruscans have bequeathed to us.

It would be great injustice to take leave of Mr. Dennistoun without acknowledging the patient industry exhibited in the prosecution of his task. It is one obviously congenial to his taste and his feelings; it is natural that he should entertain a very high admiration for the talents and the genius of the Italian people during the period which has occupied so much of his attention—and it is pardonable that he should close his eyes on many of their faults;—but he is not just when treating of other nations, nor even always, we must say, reasonable. The Spanish, the French, and the Germans he constantly speaks of as 'barbarous nations';—(on one occasion he calls the Prince of Orange 'a fair-haired barbarian,' an epithet calculated to give a most false impression of that politic prince);—and he seems even to put a little affectation into his echo of the insolence of the Italian historians in this particular.

Besides examining many manuscripts himself, he has received valuable assistance in that department. In Italy the remark of Lord Chesterfield that 'nothing remains unedited which deserves to be published' will not hold good. Many interesting papers have been supplied him, he informs us, by Mr. Rawdon Brown, whose researches have been far more extensive than his own, and whose knowledge of the history of Italy is at once general and exact. We could wish that the very curious selections made by Mr. Brown from the journals of Marin Sanuto were better known in this country; unfortunately they were published at Venice, and only in the original Italian. Mr. Dennistoun is not always so fortunate in his authorities and in his citations, nor has he done wisely we think in swelling his text with original documents of small interest, and with their wordy translations. The extracts from the chronicle of Giovanni Sanzio (the father of Raphael), for example, are far too copious; a rhyming annalist inspires little confidence, and the bald versions that regularly follow these profuse specimens of antiquated doggerel offer little relief to the suffering reader. All these, with many similar quotations, should have been omitted, or banished to an appendix. His accounts of battles and military movements are generally brief, and

and he usually abstains from criticism on the faults and mistakes of the commanders—indications of sense and modesty upon which we congratulate him. We regret that other historians of the day have not adopted the same practice. Such descriptions and disquisitions from the pen of a civilian have seldom any sort of value; too vague and inaccurate to interest the military reader, their awkward technicalities make them utterly unintelligible to others.

His admiration for friends and fellow-labourers is rather ostentatious. We get tired of the eloquent Lord This—the accomplished Mr. That—and the learned Mrs. T'other. Sundry mottoes to chapters, and other obtrusive flowers from contemporary classics, may as well be dropped in future editions. This perpetual bandying of compliments among living authorities (by no means confined to Mr. Dennistoun's pages), the transparent trick of a self-trumpeting 'camaraderie,' reminds us of nothing so much as the bragging captains in Beaumont's *King and no King*, who are perpetually giving each other certificates of valour and conduct—for ever called in question by everybody else.

ART. V.—*The Correspondence of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, and the Rev. William Mason.* Now first published from the original MSS. Edited, with Notes, by the Rev. J. Mitford. 2 vols. 8vo. 1850.

OF all the qualities of Horace Walpole's pen, its fecundity seems gradually becoming the most wonderful. In our Number of September, 1843, we first noticed the extraordinary diligence with which, amidst the numerous and constant engagements of fashionable and political life, voluminous authorship, and a zealous pursuit of antiquities and *virtù*, he found time to write such a prodigious number of letters as we then already possessed, amounting to about two thousand, and filling ten closely-printed octavo volumes; and we announced our conviction that there were probably considerable classes of his correspondence which had not yet seen the light. Since that we have received additional proofs of his indefatigability:—four thick volumes of his *Memoirs of George III.*—two volumes containing upwards of four hundred letters to Lady Ossory—and now two others of his correspondence with Mason, of which Walpole's share may perhaps amount to a couple of hundred more.* And this is probably not all. The publisher, indeed, of these volumes advertises with great confidence that 'this is the last series of the unpublished letters of this incomparable epistolary writer;' but

* We are obliged to speak thus vaguely, because the editor has neither numbered the letters, nor given us either index or table of contents.

no reason is, nor, we believe, can be, given for this assertion. On the contrary, recollecting how comparatively few of the already published letters are addressed to the persons with whom we know he much delighted to correspond—Madame du Deffand, General Conway, Lord Harcourt,* Mrs. Damer, Lady Aylesbury, Lady Suffolk, Lady Harvey, the Chutes, the Beauclercs, the whole tribe of Waldegraves, and so many others of his nearest and most familiar friends and relations—we are led to hope that we are not even yet *au fond du sac*. Probably the most curious batch of all would be those to *Mrs. Clive*, which at her death no doubt returned into his own hands, and have never been heard of.

When we reflect that the mass of published letters and memoirs extends over a space of sixty-two years—from 1735 to 1797—and embraces every possible topic of politics, literature, and social life, drawn from the best sources of information, and detailed with such unwearied diligence, and such attractive vivacity, we grow every day more and more convinced of the serious importance of Horace Walpole as the historian of his time. Light and gossiping as the individual letters may seem, they constitute, taken altogether, a body of historical evidence to which no other age or country can afford anything like a parallel. But against those merits must be set off many concomitant and, as we may venture to call them, congenial defects. His politics are always under the strong influence of party and often of faction, and his details of social life and personal character are rendered more amusing indeed, but less trustworthy, by a strong seasoning of scandal, and occasionally of malice. It is not given to man to be at once of a party, and impartial—to be a gossip, and not censorious. We do not take the characters of Lord Wharton or Sir Robert Walpole from Swift, nor should we from Horace Walpole those of Bute or North.

But besides this natural and inevitable bias, Walpole had, no doubt, from his mother, and (if the scandal of the day was well founded) from his father† too, a marked *peculiarity* of temper, which perhaps sharpened his sagacity and brightened his wit, but not unfrequently distorted his vision and deceived his judgment to an almost morbid degree. The result is, that no writer we know of requires to be read, when read historically, with more suspicion

* Mr. Mitford talks, in one of his notes, of something that is to be seen in 'the Harcourt Correspondence;' but he does not tell us what or where this Harcourt Correspondence is. We conjecture that it may be Horace Walpole's letters to the two Lord Harcourts of his day; but surely this is a very vague way of citing an *authority*. At all events it seems to contradict the publisher's advertisement, that there are no more unpublished letters of Walpole.

† See in Lord Whamcliffe's edition of Lady Mary Wortley's works Lady Louisa Stuart's statement that Horace 'was notoriously the son of Carr Lord Hervey.' See also the biographical notice of John Lord Hervey, prefixed to his Memoirs, I. xix.

—at least, more caution—and a nicer investigation and comparison of all contemporary testimony. Even when run through for mere amusement, so much of the interest and of the pleasantry turns on circumstances and allusions which are every day becoming less familiar to ordinary readers, that there is hardly a page which would not be the better for some extraneous elucidation.

These considerations have induced us to give a closer and more continuous attention to the successive batches of Walpole's Correspondence and Memoirs than such apparently *light reading* might seem at first sight to deserve. They have also prompted the regret that we have been forced to express for the very unsatisfactory way in which most of those publications, and particularly the later ones, have been *what is called* 'edited.'

The respectable name of Mr. Mitford on this new title-page gave us better hopes. He has been long practised in the editorial office, and, from the course of his literary life, would have been, we should have thought, peculiarly qualified for such a task. But we have been altogether disappointed. This is undoubtedly the worst edited of the whole Walpolean series. The anonymous editor of the Letters to Mann did little, and did it ill; Mr. Vernon Smith did nothing—but Mr. Mitford has done worse than nothing. So far from elucidating what might be dark, he has sometimes confused what was clear, and in hardly any instance explains a real obscurity. Mr. Mitford is evidently aware that he has not done for us all that we might have reasonably expected. He says:—

'I have, where it seemed requisite, made a few observations in the notes, but from circumstances connected with my professional engagements, over which I had no control, that portion of the book is *less perfect* than I could have wished; in some cases, however, the readers will be able to *supply themselves with original information*; in others, they may *derive assistance* from the learned editors of works by Walpole *previously published*, and perhaps what they will find in these volumes may not be altogether without its use.'—*Preface*.

This, begging Mr. Mitford's pardon, seems to us a very insufficient apology. 'Engagements over which he had no control' might have curtailed his commentaries, but can hardly be pleaded for the laborious inanity of seventy or eighty whole pages of what he calls *Illustrative Notes* appended to his volumes—a much larger proportion than even the best (or least bad) of Walpole's editors had hitherto given us. We cannot understand why notes so apparently copious should contain so little illustration. For instance, Walpole says in December, 1773—

'I have read a pretty little drama called *Palladius and Irene*, written by I know not whom.'—i. 110.

On

On this we find a note—

‘Palladius and Irene, a drama in three acts, 8vo. 1773. This is all that is given, without mentioning the author’s name.’—i. 420.

The note is a mere echo, which leaves the matter just where it found it.

Again—Walpole says :—

‘There is come out a Life of Garrick, in two volumes, by Davies, the bookseller, formerly a player. It is written naturally, simply, without pretensions. The work is entertaining,’ &c.—ii. 86.

This seems plain enough ; but the editor thinks it necessary to add an *illustrative note* :—

“Memoirs of the Life of Garrick,” interspersed with characters and anecdotes of his theatrical contemporaries, &c., by Thomas Davies. New Edition, 1808, 2 vols. A work of entertainment and information.—ii. 391.

The note tells less than the text.

Again : Walpole, after recommending a volume of French ‘Letters,’ adds, ‘*I do not recommend the boasted Siege of Calais*’ (ii. 7) ; on which we find, 300 pages off, this *illustrative note* :—

‘Siege of Calais, a tragedy by Charles Denis, translated from the French of de Belloy, with historical notes, 1765. See *Biog. Dramatica*.’—ii. 404.

Few readers will have the *Biographia Dramatica* at hand, but we can console them by informing them that the said *Biographia* would have told them no more than the *Illustrative Note*, and that neither it nor the Note has any relation whatsoever to what Walpole was writing about—to wit, the *original* French play, which, as we find from the *Collective Correspondence* (vol. iv.), he had asked Lord Hertford, 25th March, 1765, to send him from Paris, and of which he writes to George Montague on the 5th April in the identical words used to Mason. The *translation by Denis* mentioned in the *Biographia* and the *Note* had not yet appeared, and probably Walpole never saw it ; it seems to have fallen dead-born from the press.

Of so large a body of notes there are not, we believe, above a dozen that afford anything that can be fairly called *illustration* ;—some are absolute blunders, while there are a hundred passages on which a really illustrative note would have been desirable. There is too much that we do not want, and too little of what we do.* And we demur altogether to the remedy that Mr. Mitford pro-

* We must also notice the minor blunder of exiling, without even the help of a mark of reference, the note from the page it professes to illustrate—a mode sometimes necessary in long disquisitive commentaries, but as absurd as inconvenient in a case like this.
poses—

poses—of ‘the reader’s supplying himself with original information,’ or ‘consulting the learned editors of all Walpole’s previously published works.’ It is rather hard on the purchaser of two costly volumes—which from the addition of the name of *Mason* may be supposed to be substantially of a separate class—to be forced to buy all the long series of Walpole’s correspondence—(to say nothing of the *Biographia Dramatica* and the like)—and painfully to pick out from them what an editor ought to have already extracted for his use. In short, we have to say generally, and we shall by and by show more particularly, that, from whatever cause, Mr. Mitford has done his work *less perfectly*, to use his own too-indulgent phrase, than any editor that it has been yet our ill-fortune to meet.

In ordinary cases it is hardly worth while to notice mere errors of the press, but in these volumes they are so numerous, and in some instances such ludicrous perversions of the meaning, as to justify and indeed require special remark. The following instances will we think show that the *Editor* could not have read his own printed sheets. Walpole is made to say that Gray was ‘*easily* disgusted with his conduct while on their travels;’ but Walpole undoubtedly wrote *early*; for *that* was the fact, and accordingly in another letter he says ‘I am sorry to find I dis-oblinded Gray so *very early*.’ (i. 106.) Walpole is made, in the very first page, to send Mason a ‘volume of *Engravings*,’ instead of his catalogue of *Engravers*. Then we read of *Murphy*’s plagiarisms (i. 164), and, of course, thought of Arthur Murphy; but reading on, we found *Macpherson* was meant. Of a certain *nolo Episcopari* sermon which Mason had preached, and which Walpole advised him to suppress, he is made to say (i. 323) that ‘it *can* be recalled’—when he certainly wrote ‘it *cannot* be recalled.’ Judge *Persin* (ii. 25) will puzzle legal chronologists—unless they have industry to discover that Mr. Baron *Perryn* may have been meant. We were startled (ii. 108) at finding that a certain circumstance is to make Mason, who hated Lord Rockingham, ‘*ever* love’ him, — Walpole really meaning that it might make Mason love ‘*even*’ him. We were for a moment at a loss to know who ‘the *Parnassus* Poet’ (ii. 298) might be, who was a channel of communication between his brother poets, Hayley and Mason; at last we discovered that ‘the *Parnassus* Post’ was meant. Walpole excuses the absurdity of a certain person’s opinion by the suggestion that it was a general error—‘*defendit numerus*,’ this is amazingly printed, ‘*defend it Numerus*,’ as if one *Numerus* was called upon to *defend* the obnoxious opinion. We were astonished in reading Mason’s list of his preferments in the cathedral of York to find him appointed, in 1763, to the ‘*Primateship*,’ as we have never heard that he was
Primate

Primate of England, we conclude that the *Precentorship* may be a preferable *lectio*. In vol. ii. p. 314, Walpole is made to 'accept' an unseasonable visitor: Horace was seldom so complying, and accordingly he resolutely begged leave to 'except' him. In one of his towering bursts of patriotism, Walpole exclaims (i. 219), 'I am not corrupted; I am not a traitor.' The printer has lowered the proud boast into 'I am not a tailor!' We may add that, throughout, sentences constantly begin and end where they ought not. It is almost incredible that any man of literary habits should have inspected the printed sheets; but our readers will find cause for more wonder of a like kind in the sequel.

While we feel ourselves obliged to complain that Mr. Mitford has so egregiously failed in editorial details, we willingly acknowledge the substantial value of the publication itself, and the special gratitude that we owe to him for having brought to light a correspondence which, though we are very far from thinking it, as he does, 'of as much general and greater literary interest than any other portion of Walpole's epistolary works,' does certainly fill up an important chasm in his correspondence, and throws additional light on an interesting and somewhat enigmatical portion of the literary and political history of both Mason and Walpole. It will also be found not unimportant to general history, and particularly to the elucidation of that violent struggle of parties that lasted from 1770 to the conclusion of the Rockingham administration.

'The letters of Mason, now first printed, formed part of the collection of manuscripts purchased of the Duke of Grafton, as executor of the late Earl of Waldegrave, and were entrusted to me for publication; and while I was lamenting the imperfect manner in which they would appear, from want of the answers of the correspondent, my friend, Archdeacon Burney, informed me that the corresponding letters of Walpole were carefully, and in their entire form, preserved at the Rectory House at Aston. The introduction which I obtained from him was most kindly received by Mr. Alderson, the present possessor of the place, and with a liberality for which my thanks are now to be paid, he allowed me the use of the volumes, that for more than half a century had been under the safe protection of his father and himself.'*
—*Preface*, pp. vii. viii.

The editor says very truly that the two main points of interest in the correspondence are the explanation of Walpole's juvenile quarrel with Gray, and of his partnership with Mason in the celebrated 'Heroic Epistle.' On the first point, however, there

* This gentleman, the present rector of Aston, is son to the Rev. Ch. Alderson, Mason's intimate friend and sole executor, who immediately succeeded the poet in that valuable living and beautiful parsonage.

is little more to learn than Mason had already told us in a passage of his 'Life of Gray,' which was dictated to him by Walpole in a very creditable spirit. When Mason submitted to Walpole the account which he proposed to give, in the 'Life,' of the difference between them, Walpole answered (March, 1773).:—

'I am so far from being dissatisfied, that I must beg leave to sharpen your pen, and in that light only, with regard to myself, would make any alterations in your text. I am conscious that in the beginning of the differences between Gray and me, the fault was mine. I was too young, too fond of my own diversions, nay, I do not doubt, too much intoxicated by indulgence, vanity, and the insolence of my situation as a Prime Minister's son, not to have been inattentive and insensible to the feelings of one I thought below me; of one, I blush to say it, that I knew was obliged to me; of one whom presumption and folly perhaps made me deem not my superior *then* in parts, though I have since felt my infinite inferiority to him. I treated him insolently: he loved me, and I did not think he did. I reproached him with the difference between us, when he acted from conviction of knowing he was my superior. I often disregarded his wishes of seeing places, which I would not quit other amusements to visit, though I offered to scold him to them without me. Forgive me, if I say that his temper was not conciliating. At the same time that I will confess to you that he acted a more friendly part, had I had the sense to take advantage of it. He freely told me of my faults:—I declared I did not desire to hear them, nor would correct them. You will not wonder that with the dignity of his spirit, and the obstinate carelessness of mine, the breach must have grown wider, till we became incompatible.'—vol. i. p. 57.

He says again in July:—

'You see how *easily* (early) I had disgusted him; but my faults were very trifling, and I can bear their being known, and forgive his displeasure. I still think I was as much to blame as he was.'—vol. i. p. 86.

And, again, of West and Gray, he says:—

'Of my two friends and me, I only make a most indifferent figure. I do not mean with regard to parts or talents. I never one instant of my life had the superlative vanity of ranking myself with them. They not only possessed genius, which I have not, with great learning which is to be acquired, and which I never acquired; but both Gray and West had abilities marvellously premature. What wretched boyish stuff would my contemporary letters to them appear, if they existed; and which they both were so good-natured as to destroy!—What unpoetic things were mine at that age, some of which unfortunately do exist, and which I yet could never surpass.—But it is not in that light I consider my own position. We had not got to Calais before Gray was dissatisfied, for I was a boy, and he, though infinitely more a man, was not enough so to make allowances. Hence am I never mentioned
once

once with kindness in his letters to West. This hurts me for him, as well as myself. For the oblique censures on my want of curiosity I have nothing to say. The fact was true: my eyes were not purely classic: and though I am now a dull antiquary, my age then made me taste pleasures and diversions merely modern.* I say this to you, and to you only, in confidence. I do not object to a syllable. I know how trifling, how useless, how blameable I have been; and submit to hear my faults—both because I have had faults, and because I hope I have corrected some of them; and though Gray hints at my unwillingness to be told them, I can say truly that to the end of his life, he neither spared the reprimand nor mollified the terms, as you and others know, and I believe have felt.’—vol. i. p. 106.

This is candid and amiable; and we have made our extracts the more liberally because they are certainly the passages of the whole work in which Walpole appears to the most advantage; though, after all, they do not remove the mystery about the immediate cause of the sudden and never quite reconciled rupture which separated them at Reggio, in 1741.

Upon the second and now more interesting point—the authorship of the *Heroic Epistle*—the editor tells us:—

‘The readers of these Letters will be interested in seeing the *entire secret history* of the *Heroic Epistle unveiled for the first time* before them, and the many cautious artifices with which it was attempted to conceal the author. It was not from the remote and tranquil solitudes of a Yorkshire rectory that a satire, which showed an intimate acquaintance with all the news and scandal of the town, and which could fix its mark on each prevailing weakness from the City to the Court, might be expected to come forth; but the public eye was very soon suspiciously directed to Mason.’—*Preface*, xi.

Mason, indeed, disclaimed it in an expostulatory letter to T. Warton; but—

‘Notwithstanding this disclaim, and the other stratagems used to mislead, which are described in this correspondence, the belief gra-

* In this Walpole seems to do himself injustice; for we have to thank Mr. Mifflin for having produced the following remarkable testimony, from the classic pen of Dr. Middleton, as to the taste and judgment of the young connoisseur:—

‘Ex his autem agri Romani divitiis, neminem profecto de peregrinatoribus nostris thesaurum inde deportasse credo, et reum delecto et pretio majis æstimabilem ac quem amicus meus *nobilis Horatius Walpole* in Angliam nuper advexit: Juvenis, non tam generis nobilitate, ac paterni nominis gloriâ, quam ingenio, doctrinâ, et virtute propriâ illustris. Ille vero haud citius fere in patriam reversus est, quam de studiis meis, ut consuevit, familiariter per literas quærens, mihi ultro de copiâ suâ, quicquid ad argumenti mei rationem, aut libelli ornamentum pertineret, pio arbitrio meo utendum obtulit. “Quam quidem ejus liberalitatem libenter admodum amplexus essem, ni operis hujus jam prope absoluti fastidio quodam correptus, atque ad alia festinans, intra terminos ei ab initio destinatos illud continere statuissim. Attamen præclaram istam Musei Walpoleani suppellectilem, ab interprete aliquo peritiorè propediem explicandam edendamque esse confido.”—*Middletoni, Pref. ad Germana quædam Antiq. Monumenta*, &c., p. 6, published in 1745.

dually grew and strengthened, and then pointed sagaciously to *what appears the truth, that Walpole furnished the notes and illustrations of the text, and conducted the poem through the press. The satires that followed, of far inferior merit, were brought into the world in the same manner.*—*Preface, xiii.*

There is hardly one item of this statement which seems to us perfectly accurate. In the first place, as we shall presently explain more fully, the *entire* secret history is not unveiled; and what is told, though told with greater certainty, is not told for the *first time*. Mason was very early suspected; and his ‘*disclaim*,’ as the editor calls it, to T. Warton, was certainly no denial. We see in Boswell’s *Life of Johnson* that in 1784 Walpole was supposed to be also concerned in it; and in the edition of that work in 1831 it is stated, ‘there can be no doubt that the *Heroic Epistle* was the joint production of Mason and Walpole—Mason supplying the poetry and Walpole the points.’—(vol. iv. p. 485.) This opinion has been since often repeated—never, that we know of, questioned. It was maintained, in some detail, in our article on the Letters to Lady Ossory (Q. R., June, 1848); and the present publication neither adds nor subtracts anything essential to or from the general view of the case so given. It *proves* indeed, what before was only suspected, that the *pen* was Mason’s, and perhaps exclusively; but we shall see good reason for thinking that the first thought was accidentally furnished by Walpole; and—though the extreme reserve and studied mystery in which constant apprehensions of a post-office *espionnage* induced the correspondents to envelop themselves leave us in doubt as to the extent of Walpole’s subsequent suggestions—there is abundant reason to conclude that they were many and important. Mason, in allusion to some of the later political satires and squibs of which the *Heroic Epistle* was the prologue, claims for himself no higher merit than of *cooking* the materials Walpole had prepared:—
‘The idlest cook-maid in the kingdom may make a pudding if any of her fellow *servants* will pick the *plumbs* and make them ready to mix with the butter. She has nothing to do then but stir them about and tye them tight in the pudding-bag. So no more at present from
your sincere friend till death

• CATHERINE CULLINDAR.—ii. 262.

And this was probably equally true of the first of the series, which contained so many local *plums*, which Walpole was most likely to have furnished.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Mitford’s limitation of his share to that of *furnishing notes and conducting the poem through the press* is a most gratuitous assumption, not only unwarranted by any proof we can discover, but so completely negatived by the letters
of

of both parties that we are forced to believe that the editor had either never read them or had forgotten them before he wrote his preface. Incredible as this may seem, we can discover no other explanation for the apparent facts; and we must also add that the misplacing,* misdating, and misunderstanding of several other portions of the correspondence, lead us to the same conclusion, that he has not always read, or at least not very attentively, the letters he professes to edit and *illustrate*.

He gives us no information (which we surely might, in all reason, have expected) of how or when the acquaintance of Walpole and Mason commenced. But there can be no doubt that it arose from their common friendship with Gray. We find in the collective edition of Walpole's letters that in 1761 Gray and Mason paid him a visit at Strawberry Hill. The first letter in this correspondence is of the 29th December, 1763, when, Mason having sent Walpole his volume of poems, Walpole returns the compliment with his *Anecdotes of Painters*, and the volume of '*Engravings*' (Engravers). They seem, however, to have had little intercourse till Gray's death in August, 1771, when Mason's office of his executor and the preparation of the '*Life of Gray*' brought them into more frequent communication.

Mason came to London, from his Yorkshire living, about the beginning of 1772, partly to forward his work, and partly, we suppose, to take his turn of duty as king's chaplain; and we find by a note of his, dated 'Curzon Street—the *Eve of the Martyrdom*, 1772,' that Walpole had submitted an epilogue of his own for some tragedy then about to be played to Mason's correction, who, however, did nothing but add two lines—

'To mark more strongly who you mean by a wit;—

No, says a wit, made up of French grimaces,

Yet, self-ordained, the high-priest of the graces.'—i. 21.

We think an *illustrative note* to tell us what this *tragedy* and *who* this wit were, would have been rather more necessary than that which tells us that by '*Davies's Life of Garrick*' was meant the '*Life of Garrick* by Thomas Davies.' As we happen to possess the great quarto edition of Walpole's works, we are enabled to supply ourselves and our readers with the *information* that the epilogue in question was for Jephson's tragedy of *Braganza*, and that Mason's epigrammatic couplet was directed against *Lord Chesterfield*. Very well; but, on looking a little

* We add for example and for the information of our readers who may wish to understand the original correspondence, that the letters from p. 322, vol. i., to p. 355, are so mislaid and jumbled as to be unintelligible. The order should be thus:—after 343, 344, 345, 323, 352, 348, 355. There are several other less complicated misplacements and misdatings which ought to be corrected whenever these letters are reprinted.

closer, we were rather surprised at finding our *Court Chaplain* adopting, so early as January 1772, one of Walpole's very peculiar prejudices by sneering at the *Martyrdom*.^{*} This induced us to go a step farther, and we gathered from other works which we have the good luck to have at hand that *Braganza* was first played on the 17th February 1775—so that, unless the epilogue was written above three years before the representation of the play, the date which the editor so peremptorily prefixes to the letter must be erroneous: and so it certainly is; for on the 1st February 1775 Walpole mentions the epilogue to *Lady Ossory* as *just written*; and in his own autobiographical sketch he says that 'he wrote this epilogue in February 1775.' It is clear, then, that the date of 1772 is a mistake. If the editor found it on the original letter, he surely ought to have detected and endeavoured to account for it. If he has added the date, he has, besides the anachronism, fallen into a second and more serious editorial error—that of not specifying that it is an addition of his own. We lay considerable stress on this point, because in all such publications it is of great importance to know what *variances*—whether by addition or suppression—an editor may have thought proper to make; and we see reason to suspect that in this Correspondence many have been made without any acknowledgment; at least we see allusions to *foregoing* passages which we cannot find—answers to letters that do not appear—references to names not before mentioned, and the like. The editor may perhaps not be to blame for these discrepancies or *lacunæ*—they may arise from chasms in the original papers;—but he ought at least—even in his own defence—to have noticed them. In one or two very critical places there seem to have been suppressions or omissions. We should be curious to know whether they were made by Walpole or Mason, or by the editor—if by the last, they may have been very properly made, but it would have also been proper to have mentioned the fact.

We return to what is the main interest of the Correspondence—the *Heroic Epistle*. On the 9th of May 1772, Walpole writes to Mason—

'The newspapers tell me that Mr. Chambers, the Architect, who has Sir-Williamized himself, by the desire (as he says) of the *Knights of the Polar Star* his brethren, who were angry at his not assuming his proper title, is going to publish a treatise on *ornamental gardening*; that is, I suppose, considering a garden as a subject to be built upon.

^{*} Walpole professed a violent antipathy to Charles I. He had the engraved fac-simile of *Magna Charta* framed and glazed; and as a pendant to it appeared, also framed and glazed, and hung up by his bed-side, the fac-simile of the death-warrant of the King, under which he had written *Major Charta*.

* In that light it will not interfere with your *verses* or my *prose*.—vol. i. p. 23.

On this passage the editor does not favour us with a note—yet its apparent relation to the subject and even to the very words of the *Heroic Epistle*—(which opens with—*Knight of the Polar Star!*)—as well as the allusion to the *verses* of Mason and the *prose* of Walpole, render the date of 1772 at first sight somewhat perplexing, and surely would have justified some explanation. We have a suspicion that the editor may have understood this passage as alluding to the *Heroic Epistle*; and the mention of Walpole's *prose* in connexion with Mason's *verse* is perhaps the authority—at least we can discover nothing else that looks like an authority—for attributing to Walpole the contribution of *notes* to that performance. If this be so, it is all a complete mistake—for the *Heroic Epistle* was not yet thought of—indeed the very work which the *Epistle* ridicules had not yet appeared. The *verse* alluded to was the first part of Mason's *English Garden*, just then published, and the *prose*, no doubt, referred to Walpole's own charming *Essay on Modern Gardening*. Chambers's work had been advertised, by an error of the press, as a treatise on *ornamental gardening*, and so Walpole calls it; and expects to find it a work on *architectural gardening*. It was not till it afterwards appeared in its real character of a panegyric on *oriental gardening*, as exemplified under royal patronage at *Kew*, that the two Whig wits could have thought of working into a political satire the germ of Walpole's sneer at the *Knight of the Polar Star*. And we can easily imagine how much they must both have been offended at finding the style of gardening which they were celebrating in verse and in prose, condemned as the 'mean and paltry manner which, to our national disgrace, is called the English style of gardening.'

Mason had now returned into Yorkshire, whence, as we find by Walpole's answer (21st July) to a letter that does not appear, he sends him up some pleasantry against 'Alma Mater,'* and announces 'a new poem cast in the same mint,' which Walpole is impatient to see. This was no doubt the rudiments of the *Heroic Epistle*. A few days after, Walpole himself went down into Yorkshire, paying a visit to Lord Strafford at Wentworth Castle, and passing some days with Mason at his parsonage of Aston. Then and there, we have little doubt that the poem,

* One of Mason's earliest productions was his *Iris*—a satire on Oxford and Toryism; but the censure of the *Whig Cantab* was speedily answered and overpowered by Tom Warton's *Triumph of Isis*. We presume that this new satire must have been against Mason's own alma mater Cambridge. Mr. Mitford's readers will wish that he had illustrated this passage, which, we confess, we cannot at once explain.

already,

already, we suppose, on the stocks, received some, at least, of those brilliant touches, which indicate the local knowledge and peculiar feelings of Walpole, and of which Mason can hardly be suspected. This visit to Aston—which the editor does not notice—of which we never before heard, and now only pick out of two half lines of Walpole's letters—determines, we think, in addition to all the other circumstances, that Walpole may have had a considerable share even in the concoction of the Epistle, and accounts for the fact that all Mason's subsequent satires were visibly inferior in that point and gaiety which Walpole's personal co-operation was likely to have supplied. Walpole was a bad versifier and may not have actually written a line of the poem, though we have no doubt that during the visit at Aston he suggested many, and sharpened more.

As this once celebrated piece is now only to be found in some voluminous collections of fugitive poetry, our readers will not be displeased at seeing a specimen or two: though, as we cannot produce Chambers's original absurdities, much of the pleasantry will be lost. We shall observe by and by on the peculiar malevolence with which King George III. is treated in this and some subsequent poems from the same source, and which are, in truth, in many instances a versification of the prose libels of Junius, and especially of Wilkes.

The poet invites the Polar Knight to teach the Muse—

' Like thee, to scorn dame Nature's simple fence,
Leap each *ha-ha* of truth and common sense,
And proudly rising in her bold career,
Demand attention from the gracious car
Of HIM whom we and all the world admit
Patron supreme of science, taste, and wit.
Does Envy doubt? Witness, ye chosen train,
Who breathe the sweets of his Saturnian reign!
Witness, ye Hills, ye Johnsons, Scotts, Shebbeares,
List to my call—for *some of you have ears!*'

Dr. Shebbeare, be it recollected, had been pilloried for a libel.

' There was a time, "in Esher's peaceful grove,"
When *Kent* and *Nature* vied for Pelham's love—'

But Chambers discovers that "*Nature* affords but few materials to work with," and recommends the monstrosities of Chinese gardening in a strain of which the poetical version is hardly an exaggeration:—

' For what is Nature? Ring her changes round—
Her three flat notes are water, plants, and ground;
Prolong the theme, yet, spite of all your clatter,
The tedious theme is still ground, plants, and water.

So—when some John his dull invention racks
To rival Boodle's dinners, or Almack's—
Three uncouth legs of mutton meet our eyes,
Three roasted geese, three buttered apple-pies.*

Strange as it may seem, this last illustration is *literally* versified from the Architectural Knight's prose. The poet then charges his Majesty with a zealous adoption of all this absurdity in his improvements at Kew—somewhat unjustly however: for though we have no high opinion of the good King's taste in these matters, the Chinese garden was but a small portion of the general design, and might be well enough admitted to diversify the remote and uninteresting corner in which it was placed. Nor should it be forgotten that the gardens were meant to exhibit a variety of styles, including specimens of Grecian, Roman, Italian, and even Gothic decoration, and, above all, that a much larger share was appropriated to the advancement of botany, horticulture, and natural history. To George III. we owe those splendid exotic gardens which at this hour do so much honour to both English science and taste. But the satirists would see nothing but the Chinese corner, and—which still better suited their purpose—the pedantic conceit and servile fustian of Chambers's lucubration.

'Haste! bid yon livelong terrace reascend:
Replace each vista; straighten every bend;
Shut out the Thames: shall that ignoble thing
Approach the presence of great Ocean's King?
No, let barbaric glories feast his eyes,
August pagodas round his palace rise,
And finished Richmond open to his view
"A work to wonder at—perhaps a"—Kew.*

Chambers had gone on to describe the kind of masquerade scenes in which the Eastern court amuses itself—'menageries, manufactories, fortified towns with their ports, streets, temples, markets, shops, tribunals, criminal trials, executions, gibbets, &c.' This is sarcastically travestied—

'This to achieve no foreign aids we try—
Thy gibbets, Bagshot! shall our wants supply.
Hounslow, whose heath sublimer terror fills,
Shah with her gibbets lend her powder mills.†
Here too, O King of Vengeance, in thy faue
Tremendous *Wilkes* shall rattle his gold chain:‡

* 'Nature shall join you—time shall make it grow
'A work to wonder at—perhaps a Stowe!'

Pope's *Epistle on Taste*.

† Here is Walpole's hand distinctly; see his lively descriptions of the damages done at Strawberry Hill by the explosion of these mills.

‡ Written while Wilkes was Sheriff of London, and when it was feared he would rattle his chain a year longer as Lord Mayor.—*Original Note*.

And

And round that fane on many a Tyburn tree
 Hang fragments dire of Newgate history !
 On this shall *Holland's* dying speech be read ;
 Here *Bute's* confession, and his wooden head ;
 While all the minor plunderers of the age
 (Too numerous far for this contracted page),
 The *Rigbys*, *Calcrafts*, *Mungos*, *Bradshaws*, there
 In straw-stuff'd effigy shall kick the air !

* * * *

Brentford with London charms will we adorn,
 Brentford, the bishopric of Parson *Horne*.
 There, at one glance, the royal eye shall meet
 Each varied beauty of St. James's Street.
 Stout *Talbot* * there shall ply with hackney chair,
 And Patriot *Betty* fix her fruit-shop there.
 Like distant thunder now the coach of state
 Rolls o'er the bridge, that groans beneath its weight.
 The Court hath cross'd the stream ; the sports begin ;
 Now *Nowell*, † preaches of rebellion's sin :
 And as the powers of his strong pathos rise,
 Lo ! brazen tears fall from *Sir Fletcher's* eyes ;
 While, skulking round the pews, that babe of grace,
 Who ne'er before at sermon show'd his face,
 See *Jemmy Twitcher* ‡ shambles. Stop ! stop thief !
 He's stol'n the Earl of Denbigh's handkerchief.
 Let *Barrington* arrest him in mock fury,
 And *Mansfield* hang the knave without a jury.

* * * *

But, hark ! the voice of battle shouts from far :—
 The Jews and Maccaronis are at war.
 The Jews prevail, and, thundering from the stocks,
 They seize, they bind, they circumcise *Charles Fox*.
 Fair *Schwullenbergen* smiles the sport to see,
 And all the maids of honour cry He ! He !—
 Be these the rural pastimes that attend
 Great *Brunswick's* leisure—these shall best unbend
 His royal mind, whene'er from state withdrawn
 He treads the velvet of his Richmond lawn ;
 These shall prolong his Asiatic dream,
 Though Europe's balance trembles on its beam.'

All this, our readers see, is not a very high order of satire. Its chief merit now is the lively exposure of Chambers's nonsense ; but its great vogue at the time was owing undoubtedly to its ridi-

* Earl Talbot, then Lord Steward, Wilkes's antagonist.

† Dr. Nowell, Principal of St. Mary-Hall, Oxford, had preached a high Tory sermon on King Charles's martyrdom, 31st January, 1772, before the House of Commons, for which he was *thanked*, but afterwards *unthanked*.

‡ A well-known nick-name for Lord Sandwich.

cule of the King's personal habits and tastes—a sure enough road to temporary popularity, of which we cannot wonder that Walpole and Mason should live to be ashamed, and particularly when they subsequently saw their own more polished malevolence grossly travestied by the vulgar impudence of Peter Pindar, who, we have no doubt, drew much of his muddy inspiration from the Heroic Epistle. The Muse of Mason had in those base hands degenerated, to use his own illustration, into a ‘drab:’ and he testified his repentance by directing in his will the republication of those works only to which he had prefixed his name.

How Mr. Mitford could state that Walpole conducted this and the subsequent productions of the same class through the press is to us incomprehensible, for the very contrary is plainly established in the Letters which he *edits*. * About a year after the *Epistle* appeared the second satire, under the title of a *Postscript to the Heroic Epistle*—which, if not so light and lively as its predecessor, was equally vigorous and venomous. This remarkable piece, though frequently alluded to, and mentioned by name, and largely quoted in the Correspondence, the editor, most strange to say, seems not to have seen or heard of—certainly never to have read, as we shall show by and by: at present we refer to it only to disprove, as the following statement will do, the assertion that Walpole conducted these things *through the press*. The MS. of this second satire Mason sent up to town to a common friend, one Dr. —, * to be by him delivered to Walpole, who was to keep it till called for by a secret commissary of Mason's, who ultimately was to send it to the press. So alarmed was Walpole at the idea of having any connexion with the publication—so impatient to get rid of the MS., that he would not trust so tardy and unsafe a communication as the post, but actually despatched a *special express* all the way from London to York, to urge Mason to relieve him from this terrible deposit. Mason, very much surprised, it seems, at this panic, writes in reply:—

‘As to the Dr., you may be quite as easy on his subject, and have nothing to do but to seal the paquet up, and send it to him by your servant with charge to deliver it into his own hand. If, after all, you have any fears as to being made privy to it, I give you full liberty to burn it instantly; and as there is no other copy extant, you may be assured it will perish completely. But for God's sake no more ex-

* The editor does not say whether he finds this blank in the original correspondence. We should like to know who the doctor was. We are somewhat inclined to suspect Dr. Brocklesby, an able, amiable, and generous man, but a very keen politician. Walpole says, however, the doctor seemed almost as frightened at his commission as he was himself;—and that is not like Brocklesby.

presses. I have been at my wits end to account for this.'—vol. i. pp. 122, 123.

There are in the earlier letters several indications that Walpole was entirely ignorant of the mode, and even the time, of both these publications. These hints might escape the notice of a careless editor—but how could any one who had read and understood the two letters we have just quoted imagine that Walpole—so panic-stricken at the risk of having so much as *seen* one of these things—should have conducted half a dozen of them *through the press*? But this is not all; with a very moderate degree of attention the editor might have found palpable traces of the mode in which the publication was really conducted. First we find just after the appearance of the *Epistle* Mason writing to Walpole,—

'I have an excellent story to tell you relative to it. It is an account of a stratagem, by which ten good golden guineas were obtained from a certain person, by another, to which such a sum was of great service; this is all I can say—but the detail of the matter is highly comic, and you shall have it the first safe opportunity.'—vol. i. p. 66.

Then, by and by, to allay Walpole's terror about the *Postscript*, he tells him that the person who is

'to call for the parcel is not by any means him whom you suspect, but the young man who received the ten golden guineas for the last. On his prudence and good management I can fully rely' (vol. i. p. 122);—

and this is further explained by a line in the *Postscript* itself, which says that the author appears again—

'Warmed with the memory of that golden time
When Almon gave me reason for my rhyme—
Ten glittering orbs—and what endeared them more,
Each glittering orb the sacred feature bore
Of George the good, the gracious, and the great.'

Mason, it seems, had employed a young friend to convey the MS. of the 'Epistle' to Almon the publisher, and Almon, after some hesitation and delay, (which Mason attributed to a bribe from the Court, i. 55,) gave the messenger *ten guineas*.

The subsequent publications, which the editor thinks were passed through the press by Walpole, were in truth in the hands of a similar—*perhaps* in all the cases the *same*—emissary. In February, 1782, Mason put forth with equal secrecy the 'Archæological Epistle,' and in May followed it up by an attack on Soame Jenyns and Dean Tucker, under the title of 'the Dean and the Squire.' There was no *intrinsic* reason that we can now see why either of these pieces required such a strict incognito, but

but we suppose Mason feared that they might be recognised as from the same pen as the *Heroic Epistle*. The person employed on this occasion, Mason tells Walpole, was Mr. Baines, 'an ingenious young Yorkshireman, a student in Gray's Inn, who could not well conceal himself on a prior occasion, because it was absolutely necessary *he should revise the press*, but in the latter he disguised himself *en militaire*, and managed the matter excellently.'—vol. ii. p. 289.

Is it not clear that when the editor asserted that Walpole conducted these pieces through the press, he could not have read the letters he has *illustrated*?

All this is strange, but still stranger is the fact of the editor's ignorance of the *Postscript* itself—of which, however, he himself furnishes us with the most indisputable evidence. We must first observe that in his frequent enumerations and notices of these works he mentions the 'Heroic Epistle,' the 'Epistle to Shebbeare,' the 'Archæological Epistle,' and so forth, but not once, we believe, the 'Postscript:' but as both the letter-writers mention—nay even, as we have said, quote the 'Postscript' over and over again, we suppose the editor must have thought that there was really a mere *postscript* appended to the 'Epistle' itself, and therefore took no more notice of it. As to his never having read it, he leaves us in no doubt at all. In the *Postscript*, amidst many sneers at the King, there are these lines:—

'Let those prefer a levée's harmless talk—
Be asked how often and how long they walk;
Proud of a single word, nor hope for more,
Though *Jenkinson* is blest with many a score.'

When Mason had written these lines, he saw that Mr. Jenkinson (the first Lord Liverpool) was too considerable a person—too well entitled to 'many a score' words—to suit the intended sarcasm, and sent them to Walpole—(discreetly mutilating Mr. Jenkinson's name)—with a request—

'if you know a dirtier and *less considerable* man than J * * * n whose name consists of *three syllables*, you will do me a favour to mention him.'—i. 116;—

to which the editor, evidently knowing nothing at all about the *Postscript*, or *Jenkinson*, appends this wonderful note—

'I presume that Mason alludes to his *Epistle to Dr. Shebbeare*, which came out in 1774, and probably to the second line—

Oh, for a thousand tongues, and every tongue

Like *Johnson's* armed with words of six feet long.'—i. 421;—

and he proceeds through two thirds of a page to show that this is an *additional* instance of Mason's antipathy to Doctor Samuel Johnson! Thus not only making *Johnson* a trisyllable, and marring

marring the metre, but completely ignoring the existence of the poem, which occupies so large a share in the Correspondence—which has been printed and reprinted in numerous editions—and in every edition for the last seventy years exhibits the name *Jenkinson* at full length.

As we have given some specimens of the *Epistle*, our readers may wish to see something also of the *Postscript*, which is directed more exclusively and more arrogantly against the King:—

‘ And now, my Muse, thy fame is fix’d as fate;
Tremble ye fools I scorn, ye knaves I hate!
I know the vigour of thy eagle wings;
I know thy strains can pierce the ear of kings.’

The King had then recently reviewed the fleet at Portsmouth, and the satirist pursues him on

—— ‘ the way,
Perchance to proud Spithead’s imperial bay.
There should he see, as other folks have seen,
That ships have anchors and that seas are green,
Should own the tackling trim, the streamers fine—
With Sandwich prattle, and with Bradshaw dine;
And then sail back amidst the cannon’s roar,
As safe, as sage, as when he left the shore;’ &c.—

After some more sneering of this kind, the writer attempts a higher tone, and promises himself a futurity of fame:—

‘ Ye sons of freedom, ye to whom I pay,
Warm from the heart, this tributary lay;
That lay shall live, though Court and Grub Street sigh:
Your young Marcellus was not born to die.
The Muse shall nurse him up to man’s estate,
And break the black asperity of fate.’

We confess that we do not clearly see the meaning of this passage; but he concludes with a menace more intelligible, though somewhat commonplace:—

‘ ’Tis but to try his strength that now he sports
With Chinese gardens and with Chinese courts.
But if his country claim a graver strain,
If real danger threat fair Freedom’s reign,
If hireling *Peers*, in prostitution bold,
Sell her as cheaply as themselves they sold;
Or they who, honoured by the people’s choice,
Against that people raise their rebel voice. . . .
If this they dare, the thunder of his song,
Rolling in deep-toned energy along,
Shall strike with truth’s dread bolt each miscreant’s name,
Who, dead to duty, senseless e’en to shame,

Betrayed

Betrayed his country. Yes, ye faithless crew,
His muse's vengeance shall your crimes pursue,
Stretch you on Satire's rack, and bid you lie,
Fit garbage for the hell-bound infamy.'

These vague and hypothetical generalities, pointed at no individual object, and in which we easily see that the terse and epigrammatic Walpole had no hand, are mere 'sound and fury, signifying nothing.' The last couplet is the only one that shows much vigour even of expression: it is a striking one, certainly, and all have it by heart, though perhaps comparatively few could tell where it occurs; but, as the writer himself became subsequently one of the 'faithless crew,' changed his party, and reconciled himself with the Court, we cannot wonder at his never having claimed the authorship.

Having thus explained what we think the editor's misapprehensions concerning these two satires, we proceed to make some observations on the other portions of the Correspondence.

Of the whole series of Walpole's letters we are inclined to place these last in intrinsic value as well as in order of publication. The subjects are more limited,—the parties are so busy with their political libels, and so cautious and ambiguous in their communications on those matters, that on the points which would probably be most interesting they are obscure and enigmatical. Of the rest, Walpole's share is, for the most part, much below his usual level; while Mason's letters are neither good nor bad, nor would be worth printing except that they keep up the shuttlerock with Walpole. Before we proceed to some graver considerations that these letters suggest, we will gratify our readers by some of the thinly scattered characteristics of the Walpolean style.

When announcing to Mason the publication of Cook's discoveries in the South Seas, he says—

'The Admiralty have dragged the whole ocean, and caught nothing but the fry of mugrown islands which had slipped through the meshes of the Spaniard's net.'—i. 81.

How cleverly though coarsely he discriminates two royal characters, when he says that the letters in the *Nugæ Antiquæ*—

'show clearly what a *sad dog* Queen Elizabeth was, and King James what a *silly bitch*!'—i. 180.

When he was lamenting to his nephew's lawyer that, 'the prodigality of that unhappy youth would ruin the family estate and alienate Houghton, the legist—

'answered, the law hates a perpetuity. Not all perpetuities, said I,—*not those of lawsuits*.'—i. 95.

The

The summer of 1778 was a singularly fine one ; it was, said Walpole, *Italy in a green gown*.

Of the perseverance of the ministry in attempting to reduce America, he says,—

‘ *Firmness* retires where practicability finishes, and then *obstinacy* undertakes the business.’—ii. 45.

Talking of Wraxall’s vanity and presumption in forcing himself into every kind of notoriety, he adds—

‘ I fear he will come to an *untimely beginning* in the House of Commons.’—ii. 148.

When Lord Carlisle, then young and inexperienced in business, was appointed to treat with the Americans, who Walpole was persuaded would not treat, he says with, as the result showed, equal sagacity and wit—

‘ Lord Carlisle is named one of the commissioners, and is very fit to make a *treaty that will not be made*.’—i. 346.

‘ I wonder,’ said Lady Barrymore (to Walpole) ‘ why people only say *as poor as Job* and never *as rich*, for in one part of his life he had great riches.’ ‘ Yes,’ said I, ‘ Madam, but then they pronounce his name differently and call him *Jobb*.’—ii. 231.

These few extracts will at least prove that Walpole would have done his pen injustice if he had been serious when he complained in January 1782 that ‘ his *goose-quill had grown grey*’ (ii. 214). Indeed it never *grew grey*. The letters of his later life are in general equal to any he ever wrote in vivacity—superior, perhaps, both in pleasantry and good sense ; and if these to Mason are less agreeable, it is attributable to the unamiable and often repulsive character of the subjects which principally occupied the correspondents. There are also some social gossip and several passing notices and judgments of the publications of the day, which are not without amusement and interest, but they are, we may say, stifled in the heat and pressure of partizan politics.

History tells us but too well the activity and malignity of the spirit of faction which disgraced the first twenty years of the reign of George III., but there is something peculiarly offensive when one is admitted to see the interior process of the dirty work. Lively as these satires may appear, and satisfactory as it is to know the truth as to the authors and their motives, it is painful to see such men prostituting such abilities on subjects so disreputable—which at the time they were *afraid*, and in their latter and better days *ashamed* to avow. Here we have Walpole, the son of a most unscrupulous minister, and himself an enormous and scandalous instance of political jobbery, holding *five* lucrative state sinecures—and Mason, a *reverend* pluralist, the creature of
Royal

Royal and aristocratical patronage, holding five ecclesiastical preferments (two of which were wholly, and two others nearly sinecure)—affecting a high strain of purity and public spirit, and conspiring to bring 10th Church and State, the authority of the Government, and even the person of the Sovereign, into odium and contempt: and all with no other, or at least no better motive—on Walpole's part certainly, and we believe on Mason's—than their personal vexation at being disappointed of some additional favours, and frustrated in the accomplishment of some additional jobs.

We have heretofore proved from his own evidence, and the reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry, that the clue to all the intricacies of Walpole's political feelings lay in those five sinecure places, one of which, humble in rank, but producing above 400*l.* a-year, he wished to render what he called 'more independent;' and another of 1400*l.*, which, holding for his brother's life, he wanted to have for his own. These were very natural wishes on his part, though it would have been indecent on the part of any minister to have granted them; but it is beyond all patience to see the rancour generated by their rejection assuming so impudent a mask of purity and patriotism. Of Mason's motives we have no such direct evidence; but enough appears to justify a suspicion that the 'vanity' and 'ambition' which Gray early remarked in him, having been stimulated by the rapidity of his first preferments (through the patronage of Lord Holderness), he grew dissatisfied with remaining for some years only Rector of Aston and of Driffeld, Canon and Precentor of York, and *King's Chaplain*!—

'A canon!—that's a place too mean—

No, Doctor, you shall be a dean!

A dozen canons round your stall

And you the tyrant of them all.'

Nay, we doubt whether a deanery would have satisfied Mason—for we find him very severe on the bench of bishops, and so indignant at the appointment of Dr. Markham to the archbishopric of York, in 1776, that he soon after preached a sermon in that cathedral in which he had the impertinence to intimate that *he* would not accept a bishopric, and this foolish bravado was accompanied with so much intemperance and faction, that Walpole, not over squeamish in such matters, persuaded him to suppress it. No one can doubt that this *nolo episcopari* may be well translated *sour grapes*. When, by and by—as in the due course of such a friendship was sure to happen—these associates quarrelled, Walpole jeered Mason with his *nolo episcopari* pledge, and hoped 'his antipathy to a bishopric had subsided;' while Mason—whether slyly

slyly or simply we know not (for the letter itself is not given)—condoled with Walpole on the loss of one of those sinecures the tenure of which had been so long the object of *his* solicitude. It was, we suspect, some dissatisfaction with Lord Holderness for not being sufficiently zealous in pushing him still higher, that occasioned Mason's quarrel with his early patron, to whom he dedicated the first edition of his poems in a very fulsome panegyric, but had subsequently become so hostile that he abstained from frequenting Strawberry Hill, lest he should be obliged to meet the Peer, who had a villa in the neighbourhood, and 'whose face he wished never to see again.' Walpole reciprocates this amiable feeling by giving him hopes that the impediment was likely to be soon removed—

'Your *old friend* passes by me very often airing, and I am told looks ghastly and *going*'—i. 139.

When at last Lord Holderness goes, Walpole congratulates Mason that—

'The talisman is removed that prohibited your access to this part of the world.'—i. 377.

And the pious Mason congratulates himself that his quarrel with his 'old friend' dispenses him from the 'trouble which under former circumstances would have fallen on him' of following him to the family vault—which he now sends his curate to do, while he himself remains, he says, '*contentedly*'—where?—in the parsonage-house which Lord Holderness's patronage had enabled him to render an elegant and even luxurious residence! (i. 375.) We doubt the *content*, but we can have no doubt about the good feeling of the writer.

It is evident that it was prior to the composition of the Heroic Epistle that Mason had received some serious discouragement in his professional ambition; for in May 1772, before he had seen Sir William Chambers's book, he writes to Walpole:—

'I hear (for I have not seen the paper) that it has been printed as a piece of news, that I have resigned my chaplainship, and a cause assigned for it, which I fear will offend Lord Hertford [Walpole's cousin, then Lord Chamberlain]. I could wish, therefore, if it came easily into conversation, that you would assure his Lordship that my intention of resigning (for it is at present only intention) arises merely from my resolution of *not aiming at any further ecclesiastical preferment*, but to sit down *uti conviva satur* in a parsonage which I have built for that purpose.'—vol. i. pp. 25, 26.

To this Walpole replies:—

'I have told Lord Hertford of the injurious manner in which your thoughts of resigning the chaplainship have been represented in the newspapers,

newspapers*, and of the obliging expressions you have used towards him in offering to give it up. For myself, I assure you, dear Sir, that next to the pleasure I should have if it was in my power to do you service, the greatest satisfaction I can enjoy is to assist in delivering you from attendance on a court: a station below your sentiments and merit.'—vol. i. p. 27.

And it happens singularly enough that the very next sentence of this letter is Walpole's announcement to Mason of Chambers's work:—

'I have read Chambers's book. It is more extravagant than the worst Chinese paper, and is written in wild revenge against Brown [Capability Brown]; the only surprising consequence is, that it is laughed at, and it is not likely to be adopted, as I expected; for nothing is so tempting to fools as advice to deprave taste.'—*Ibid.*

As to the resignation of the Chaplaincy, the foregoing extract gives us a stronger impression of *disappointed appetite*, than of a *conviva satur*; and in the *Walpoliana*, we find a much more probable explanation of that event, which we shall produce by and by.

But whether Mason resigned his Chaplaincy from happy contentment as he writes, or from keen mortification as Walpole believed, thus much is certain, that within a month or two after the resignation he commenced his long series of bitter lampoons on the Court.

We cannot without wonder and shame look back on the state of the public mind at that period, when Wilkes had brawled and Junius thundered, and Mason and Walpole *squibbed* (it is their own phrase) the whole nation into a ferment and we may say, a frenzy of alarm: for its liberties—which never had been in less danger—and of distrust against a sovereign who was not only by personal character unambitious and unenterprising, but from his lively appreciation of the very title by which he held his crown, and his scrupulous reverence for legality, was less inclined, we believe, than any prince that ever reigned, to encroach on the rights of his people. How flimsy, how false were all the pretences; how ridiculous, how contemptible all the bugbears with which greedy and unprincipled factions succeeded, each for its season, in disordering the public intellect!—that England was in danger of being subjugated by a standing army of Scotch Jacobites!—that 'great *Brunswick*' was, if not a Jacobite, planning, and actually pursuing a scheme of despotism more arbitrary and complete than James himself had contemplated!—that juries were to be suppressed!—parliaments abrogated—and what not?—Nay, the mania rose to such a height that the House of Commons was induced to pass the most flagrantly absurd and inconsistent vote—the merest
Irish

Irish bull that ever was made—that ‘the power of the Crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished;’—and this Resolution was the crowning work of a period of faction during which the King might reasonably have trembled for his Crown—when we know that he even contemplated the possibility of being forced to retire to his German dominions, when all his public acts were thwarted, his personal friends and servants proscribed, his private life ridiculed and insulted, and the influence and power which the Crown had formerly derived from its American colonies not only lost, but lost through the prevalence, the establishment, the triumph of the anti-monarchical and republican principle. The very act of passing such a Resolution was the most notorious and indisputable proof of its utter falsehood. Little susceptible of shame as public assemblies are, the House that had passed this Resolution in opposition and defiance to all their own former votes, seemed to feel its inconsistency, and in a few days after contritely passed new votes in opposition and defiance to it. Such are the effects of faction. In all that multitudinous clamour there was not we believe one really sincere opinion that the Constitution was in danger, or that any, the wildest or most slavish courtier, contemplated the slightest infraction of it. It was a struggle on the part of the parliamentary gladiators to get into place; while their anonymous allies were—besides whatever party zeal they might feel—instigated by the keener spur of personal offence and private animosity. We confidently believe that so it was as to Junius; we long since knew it was so with Walpole—and we have now strong evidence that so it was with Mason.

Of Walpole's motives, touched on in a preceding page, we have given a detailed explanation in former Numbers, and particularly in our review of his *Memoirs of George III.*, to which we beg leave to refer any one who may wish to form an accurate estimate of the historical value of his testimony as to either the persons or the events of this reign; but as there is no part of his writings where his partiality and malevolence break out more strongly than in these letters to Mason, we think it our duty to bring again before our readers the extraordinary and, we repeat, *morbid* influence which the peculiar circumstances of his chief sinecures exercised on his whole political, and indeed private life. Believing as we do that Walpole is likely to be considered as *the* historian of his own times, it is especially necessary to show with how many—not *grains* but—*bushels* of allowance his evidence must be seasoned.

The income of his great place in the Exchequer, amounting
latterly

latterly to at least 4200*l.* a-year, was made up of profits on the supply of a vast number of small articles, chiefly official stationery. The bills for these articles were always subject to examination and check by the Treasury, and, even when allowed, to delay in the payments. To free himself from this check, or at least to secure liberal and prompt payment, and thus make himself what he calls 'independent,' was the grand object of his policy;—for it we find that he endeavoured to propitiate every new minister (we believe without exception); and we know that in many instances, and we have reason to believe that in *all*, the failure of these unreasonable solicitations was followed by the most malignant antipathy to the reluctant parties. Even his near relation, and best, if not only, beloved friend Conway, became the object of his disgust when, on coming into office, he declined to fetch from his colleagues the accomplishment of this job. On this point he broke with George Grenville and Lord Bute. When in the beginning of the reign of George III., the reversion of this office was granted to Mr. Martin which, though it could do him no possible injury, he stomached it as an unpardonable injury and affront; and all his subsequent letters are full of sarcasms and sometimes calumnies against his unfortunate reversioner—unfortunate in every way, for Walpole not only traduced but out-lived him. So sharp was this enmity that Walpole was anxious that in a new edition of the *Epistle* Mason should find 'a niche for his expectant heir.' The other great sinecure place was in the Customs, admittedly of 1400*l.* a-year, but we suspect a good deal more; this, however, he held, as we have before said, only for his brother Edward's life, who was eleven years older than he. Walpole endeavoured as early as Mr. Pelham's time to have his own life added to the patent, and, on being refused, broke with the Pelhams, and set about revenging himself on them by writing his calumnious *Memoirs of George II.*; but he still lived in hopes of obtaining this addition, or at all events of having the office *regranted* to him if his brother should die. He himself tells us how these hopes were annihilated:—

'The place in the Customs held by my brother, but the far greater share of which had been bequeathed to me by my father's will for my brother's life, was granted in reversion to Jenkinson, *private secretary to Lord Bute*. I was, I confess, much provoked at this grant, and took occasion of fomenting the ill-humour against the FAVOURITE, who had thus excluded me from the possibility of obtaining the continuance of that place to myself in case of my brother's death.'—*Memoirs of George III.*, vol. i. p. 265.

And as on his disappointment from Pelham he took his revenge by writing his *Memoirs of George II.*, so on this disappointment

ment from Bute he set about his *Memoirs of George III.* But, by a just retribution, these two works exhibit the most indisputable proofs of the corruption and malignity of the writer, and afford the best justification of the ministers he traduces.

From these two affairs is to be dated Walpole's special rancour against the King, Lord Bute, and the whole Court and Government—his constant professions of terror at *Scottish* influence, long after Lord Bute's influence had vanished—his coalition with Mason, who, we have no doubt, at his instigation assumed for his satires the pseudonyme of *Malcolm Macgregor*—and a degree of violence, *acharnement*, against Scotland and the Scotch which seems almost absolute insanity. As this is really the chief feature, and certainly the greatest curiosity of these volumes, we must give our readers some specimens of this patriotism. He tells Mason:—

'Your writings will outlive the laws of England—I scorn to say Britain, since it implies *Scotland*.'—i. 155.

Again:—

'Prithee leave England to its folly—to its ruin—to the *Scotch*. They have reduced her to a skeleton, and the bones will stick in their own throats.'—

Alarmed and shocked, as he affects to be—and as we believe in his sane moments he really was—at war in general, and at war with France especially, he is equally so at the prospect of a good understanding with her, which he thinks can only be a scheme to forward the project of the *Scotch* for enslaving England:—

'Lord Stormont is the negotiator, and Lord Mansfield, who has not courage even to be Chancellor, has courage and villany enough to assist him in *enslaving* us, as the Chancellor [of France—*Maupeou*] has enslaved his own country.'—i. 76.

Even when at last the war has broken out, and England is, he says, 'disgraced and ruined, and can never again be what it has been,' he has still one consolation left:—

'*Scotland* will not triumph.'—i. 349.

'The victories of France will be over the *Scots*. . . . Dr. Franklin has triumphed over a *Scot* Ambassador.'—i. 352.

And he urges his fellow-labourer to 'pursue that idea' in some future libel on the Court.

As matters looked worse, there was amidst the general gloom 'one comfortable thought'—that America had been

'inspired to chastise the traitor *Scots* that attacked her. They have made a blessed harvest of their machinations. If there is a drachm of sense under a Crown, a *Scot* hereafter will be reckoned pestilential.'—i. 39.

So, when he wishes to stigmatise the object of his own peculiar vexation, he has no worse name to call him by than *Mac-Jenkinson*. In August 1778, because Lord Mansfield was a Scot, Walpole believes that the Chief Justice has 'drawn out, servilely copied, and recommended' for imitation the successive steps of James II.; only doubting whether he has done so 'in order that the House of Hanover may be ruined' by such 'manœuvres'—or whether he really hopes to consolidate a despotism for them—and 'flatters himself he could succeed where Jeffries and the Jesuits failed.'

—ii. 18;

in other words, as Mason versifies it, inculcates *bonâ fide* the doctrine

'That rests on RIGHT DIVINE all regal claims,
And gives to *George* what'er it gave to *James*.'

—*Ep. to Shebbeare*.

As we have seen, in the first of the satires, Lord Mansfield will—

'Hang the knave *without a jury*.'

Even in the Protestant riots of 1780, the disordered imagination of Walpole sees a new *Popish Plot* fomented, if not devised, by the King, Lord Mansfield, and the Ministers, for the purpose of getting rid of *juries and parliaments*, and establishing a military tyranny on the ruins of the constitution:—

'Anti-Catholicism seems not only to have had little, but even only a momentary hand in the riots. I am inclined to believe that a *Court plot* was engrafted early on the prospect of tumults. So few and such no-precautions were taken, that it is not very injurious to conclude that a necessity for calling the army together to suppress an insurrection was *no very disagreeable opportunity*. It has certainly answered so roundly, that I do believe the machinist [the King?] would forgive the imputation in consideration of the honour it would do his policy. Lord Mansfield [whose house and library had been burned] has risen like a phoenix from the flames, and vomits martial-law, as if all law-books were burned as well as his own.

'This was the moment I have long dreaded. *I had no doubt the Court wished for insurrections*. It was strong enough at home to suppress them, and the suppression would unite all the military and militia, and all under one standard; and so I am persuaded it has already.... Lord Mansfield will have courage to coin what law he pleases while the House of Lords is *guarded by dragoons*; and the Chancellor, whom all sides blindly concur in crying up to the skies, has spirit enough of his own to execute any enterprise to which he shall be commanded, and is as ready as Maupeou to *annihilate parliaments*, if timidity and cunning did not prefer *voting despotism*.'—

ii. 109, 110, 112.

This is stark Bedlam. Their strictly personal insults to George

III. are equally numerous, and still more notoriously calumnious. Walpole says (March 1773) that his *ministers* are as great *rogues and fools* as those of Charles or James II., but—

‘for King James, I can find no parallel—he was sincere in his religion.’—i. 61.

While the ‘Postscript to the Heroic Epistle’ was on the stocks, Mason (i. 82) invites Walpole to—

‘send him a curious anecdote or two relating to that *supreme pattern of fraternal affection*’—

as he sneeringly calls the King, in allusion to his just and yet, as it turned out, placable vexation at the clandestine marriages of his two brothers.

In the midst of a high-flown *tirade* of morality and patriotism, Walpole expresses his contempt for that ‘*paltry thing of ermine and velvet—a king!*’—i. 147.

And he is delighted to think that the Heroic Epistle vexed his monarch personally, and he exhorts Mason to follow up the blow :—

‘Point all your lightnings at that wretch Dalrymple, and yet make him *but the footstool to the throne*, as you made poor simple Chambers.’—i. 75.

Sir John Dalrymple was, as Walpole himself admits, a *wretch*—only because he was a Scot and had the honesty to publish the evidence from the French archives of the profligate corruption of some of Walpole’s Whig saints; and Mason responds to these provocations with sundry lamentations on the degradation of England :—

‘Since *Scottish* kingcraft reassumed the throne.’

Mr. Wilberforce said of the modern Whigs, during the last French war, that they wished for as much public calamity as might bring themselves into power. This was still more true of Walpole and Mason, who rejoiced in the disasters of the American war, without any restriction; they exaggerate every failure, attenuate every advantage; they blazon every success, the smallest as well as the greatest, of the enemy; and when at last Rodney’s victory of the 12th of April 1782, restored our naval superiority, the only allusion to it in this correspondence is an innuendo that if it had happened a little sooner it might have encouraged the Court to establish a *Bastille*, and that, as it is, it is lucky that a *fleet* cannot be employed to get rid of a House of Commons! The gaiety of their letters is in direct proportion with the gloom of public affairs; and when to all our difficulties in America the war in India was superadded, the patriot Mason writes—

‘ Was I to tell you that I *drink to Hyder Ally’s health* every day in a glass of port, it might tempt you to pledge me in your glass of orange-juice; pray do so!’—ii. 174.

They not only imagined the ruin of their country, but rejoiced in it; and it is an additional proof of the obstinate blindness which faction inflicts on men, otherwise the most clear-sighted, that at the very time that Walpole was venting all this calumnious nonsense, he could thus write to Sir Horace Mann of persons whose example he was following:—

‘ Last night I took up, to divert my thoughts, a volume of letters to Swift from Bolingbroke, Rathurst, and Gay; and what was there but *lamentations on the ruin of England from wretches who thought their own want of power a proof that their country was undone.*’—Letter, 13 January, 1780.

He did not see that he and Mason were not only imitating, but surpassing ‘ *the venomous railings of the mock patriots*’ (*ib.*) of the former generation.

The *Memoirs of George III.* and this Correspondence are, when examined by a discriminating eye, the fullest and most effective answers that could be made to the clamours of that day; they expose the futility of the pretences, the meanness of the intrigues, the inconsistencies, the selfishness of the pretended patriots; and certainly, of all the personages that their prose or their verse, their satires or their letters, exhibit to posterity, there are no two that, as to honesty, candour and truth, cut a worse figure than Walpole and Mason themselves. Let us allow them to complete the picture by a few more touches of their own.

Their party is at last triumphant—Lord North is ousted—the Patriots are in the cabinet. What follows? The first circumstance we meet is a paltry affair—a mere straw to show the direction of the wind. Patriot Mason has a poor relation, a broken tradesman, to whom he makes an allowance; he, with a double good-nature for the poor man and for his own pocket, wishes to get him a certain little place under the Crown. He loses no time, and ever before the new ministers are warm in their offices, applies to Walpole to exert his influence for his friend. Patriot Walpole, after saying that he had ‘ for forty good years *made it a rule not to ask any favour from any minister*’—which rule we beg leave to add he invariably broke by asking favours for himself from every successive minister, from Mr. Pelham to Lord North, inclusive—Patriot Walpole, we say, consents to advocate the poor relation’s job, and applies to the Duke of Richmond accordingly. All this might have been very natural, and in our opinion not at all reprehensible in any but just *these men*
•who

who had spent so many years in influencing the public mind against royal and ministerial patronage; and who had lately received with such joy the Resolution that 'the power of the Crown ought to be diminished.' But there is a still better scene in this little farce. The Duke of Richmond, by some accident, did not immediately reply to Walpole's application. Walpole wonders—but imagines the Duke is making inquiries. Another day passes—Walpole grows uneasy. Another and another pass—still no answer. Walpole blazes up into the most highminded indignation: 'his eyes are opened,'—'his vanity reprimanded'—'his pride wounded'—'he would not in any case have *haunted* the new ministry, but *now* he would as soon *step into a care of scorpions*, or even join those *wretches* the old ministers, as have anything to do with these ungrateful men,'—ii. 280. 'Here's pure and disinterested patriotism for you! In a week this indignation no doubt gets round to the Duke—who apologizes—and gives the place; Mason's poor relation is salaried—Walpole outwardly (not inwardly) appeased; and we—after all the greatest gainers—have the moral of the story.

It was perhaps this little incident that prompted Walpole to discover and communicate to Mason the humiliating fact that the new ministers—so long their pride and hope—were quite as bad and in some respects rather worse than the 'wretches' their predecessors.

'*All is barefaced faction; ambition and interest have cut away their vizors, or sold them parlous dear. Both sides are alike: one cannot value either. Whenever the nation gets an advantage, it is like a half-gnawed bone tossed to a dog under the table.*'—ii. 309.

Even from the first formation of the new ministry, he says,—
'there never had been any union. *Pride, rashness, folly, and knavery* have dissipated even pretences, and everything is to begin anew. If you have youth or courage enough to *commence a fresh chase*, I have no objection. For myself, I confess I am too old; nor am I eager to be aiding and abetting more *Irish adventurers* in getting pensions of 3000*l.* a year. They have *picked the pockets* of others full as honest as themselves, and call it saving the nation's money!'—ii. 313.

Before we give more faith to this vituperation of the new ministers than we did to that of the former 'wretches,' we should like to know whether Walpole had renewed to Lord Rockingham the little request about being made 'independent in the Exchequer office,' which, in spite of the excellent rule of never asking a favour, he had made to all his predecessors; perhaps time may reveal that secret as it has done all the rest. In the meanwhile we hesitate to take the character of the Rockingham party—
though

though by no means favourites of ours—implicitly from the pen of Walpole.

The 'Irish adventurer' was Colonel Barré, whose services his party—so long Walpole's own—rewarded with a pension, but on the death of Sir Edward Walpole, which happened shortly after this, they gave him the *Clerkship of the Pells*, which was of much greater value. It shows how blind self-interest is to its own blots, that Walpole should forget that what was proposed for Colonel Barré at the close of a long and distinguished public life was *not half* the amount of what he himself and his *two* brothers had, *each*, 'picked from the public pocket,' even from their boyhood.

We said, in a former part of this article, that Walpole and Mason quarrelled—as Walpole did with all, and Mason, we believe, with most of those whom they called their friends. Horace gives a summary of this difference in the 'Walpoliana,' which Mr. Mitford reproduces in his preface, but with some omissions and mistakes; the following is the genuine version:—

'I shall tell you a great secret, the cause of my late difference with Mr. Mason (1785). Lord Harcourt, Mason, and I, used often to meet together, as we cordially agreed in our sentiments of the public measures pursued during this reign. But when the India Bill of Fox came to be agitated, Mason took a decided part against it; nay, wrote to me that, upon this occasion, every one ought to assist the King; and warmly recommended it to me to use my influence in that cause.

'You may imagine I was a little surprised at this new style of my old friend, and the impertinence of giving his advice unasked. I returned a light ironical answer. As Mason had, in a sermon preached before the archbishop of York, publicly declared that he would not accept of a bishopric, if offered to him, I jeeringly told him that I supposed his antipathy to a bishopric had subsided. He being also the first promoter of the York Associations [for Parliamentary Reform], which I never approved, I added, that I supposed he intended to use that fool Wyvill as a tool of popularity. For Wyvill is so stupid that he cannot even write English; and the first York Association paper, which was written by Wyvill, is neither sense nor grammar.

'To return to Lord Harcourt. He was so obnoxious to the Court, that when his mother lately died, the Queen did not send a message to his countess, to say that she would call on her; though this be always done in etiquette to a countess, and as constantly refused. In consequence Lord and Lady Harcourt never went near the Court. But when Fox's India Bill came to the House of Lords, Lord Harcourt, probably by Mason's suggestions, remained to the very last of the question, and much distinguished himself against it. The consequence was, that a few days after, Lord Harcourt called on me to say that the King had sent him a message requesting his acceptance of the embassy to Spain: and he concluded with begging my advice on the occasion. I told him

at

at once, that since the King had sent such a message, I thought it was in fact begging pardon: "and, my Lord, I think you must go to Court, and return thanks for the offer, *as you do not accept it.*" But, lo and behold! in a day or two Lady Harcourt was made lady of the bed-chamber to the Queen, and Lord Harcourt was constantly dangling in the drawing-room.

'Soon after Mason, in another letter, asked me what I thought of Lord Harcourt's becoming such a courtier, &c. I was really shocked to see a man, who had professed so much, treat such a matter so lightly, and returned a pretty severe answer. Among other matters, I said ironically, that, since Lord Harcourt had given his cap-and-dagger ring to little master, he (Mason) need no longer wonder at my love for my bust of Caligula. For Lord Harcourt used formerly always to wear a seal-ring with the cap of liberty between two daggers, when he went to court: but he gave it to a little boy [Lady Jersey's] upon his change. And I, though a warm friend of republicanism, have a small bust of Caligula in bronze, much admired for its fine workmanship.

'The consequence of these differences has been, that we call on each other, but are on the coldest terms.

'I ought to have mentioned that Mr. Mason, in his latter epistle to me, *condoled with me on the death of my brother*, by which I lost 1400*l.* a year. In my answer, I told him there was no room for condolence in the affair, my brother having attained the age of seventy-seven, and I myself being an old man of sixty-eight; so that it was time for the old child to give over buying of baubles. I added, that Mr. Mason well knew that the place had *been twice offered to me for my own life, but I had refused*, and left it on the old footing of my brother's'—*Walpoliana*, p. 90.

On this last assertion we feel it our duty to say that there is every reason to believe that the statement is not true in the sense in which the speaker would have us understand it. Horace had not been offered the place for his own life *additionally*—that was the hitch—but he was offered to have his name substituted for Sir Edward's, *if the latter would consent*—which of course could not be proposed to the brother.

In the same as we believe very trustworthy report of Horace's confidential conversation with Pinkerton, we read:—

'Mason too has turned a kind of courtier, though he was formerly so noted, that, being one of the King's chaplains, and it being his turn to preach before the royal family, the Queen ordered another to perform the office; but when the substitute began to read prayers, Mason also began the same service. He did not say whether he proceeded; but this I had from his own mouth; and as it happened at the chapel of St. James's, it is surprising that the town did not know it. *Mason in consequence resigned the chaplaincy.*'—*Ibid.*

This, we see, is a very different story from that which Mason had conveyed to the Lord Chamberlain Hertford through Walpole, and

and was no doubt a subsequent and confidential communication of his real motives, and is quite enough to account for his personal animosity against the King and Queen.

Amongst the many deficiencies of *illustration* with which we have to reproach the editor, one of the most serious is, that he should have taken no notice of the angry and sarcastic letter which completed Walpole's rupture with Mason, and which is to be found (misdated 1780) in a kind of appendix to the last livraison of the Letters to Sir Horace Mann (vol. iv. p. 315). As that work belongs to the same publisher as this, there could have been no objection on the score of copyright to its reproduction in what is, no doubt, its properest place. Had the editor never seen it? or was it thought discreditable to both his heroes? At all events it belongs so essentially to this series, and to the subjects we have been discussing, that we must find room for the most prominent passages of it. We are only sorry not to have the letter of Mason which provoked it. Its true date must have been in February or March 1784—shortly after the letter of the 2nd February (ii. p. 363), in which Walpole jeered Mason about his *nolo episcopari* pledge. To this Mason replied we know not what—and then, no doubt, Walpole rejoined as follows:—

‘To the Rev. W. MASON.

‘You must blame yourself, not me, if you are displeased with my letters, which you forced from me. I had done all I could, both by silence and by more than once or twice declaring I did not choose to write on politics, to avoid any political discussions with you. I could not be ignorant of Lord Harcourt's conversion, which for a moment had so much diverted the town; but I did not take the liberty to mention it to him. Neither was I quite ignorant of your change of sentiments; yet should never have uttered a syllable to you on that occasion, had you not chosen to notify it to me. Then I most certainly had an equal right to declare that my principles were not changed—especially not by a circumstance, serious indeed in itself, but ludicrous if it had produced such an effect on me as to make me think the power of the Crown had diminished, was diminishing, and ought to be increased. *Ought* did not become you or me.

‘I am so far from being hurt at your quarrelling with me, that I thank you extremely for it, and still so cordially wish you whatever you may wish for yourself, that I should delight in seeing you Archbishop of York; for, as you are *excellent at distinctions*, you can as certainly discern the difference between an *Archbishop* and a *Bishop* as between a King and his Crown. I am, Sir, with *due* regard and esteem, your most obedient humble servant,
H. W.

‘P.S.—Your pert and ignorant cabal at York, picking up factious slander from party libels, stigmatized that excellent man [Sir Robert Walpole] as the patron of corruption, though all his views and all

all his notions tended to nothing but to preserve the present family on the throne and the nation in peace and affluence. Your own blind ambition of being the head of a party, which had no precise system in view, has made you embrace every partial, sound which you took for popularity; and being enraged at every man who would not be dictated to by your crude visions, you have floundered into a thousand absurdities; and though you set out with pretending to reform Parliament, in order to lower the influence of the Crown, you have plunged into the most preposterous support of prerogative because Lord North, then the Crown minister, declared against your innovations, and has since fallen into disgrace with the King. I am not so little rooted in my principles as to imitate or co-operate with you. I am going out of the world, and am determined to die as I have lived, *consistent*. You are not much younger than I am, and ought to have acted a more temperate and rational part; but that is no business of mine.

Walpole, after all, did Mason the credit of believing that his conversion was honest:—‘from a silly hope of seeing his favourite scheme of parliamentary reform prosper in Mr. Pitt’s hands.’ (*Walpoliana*, p. 91.) Walpole himself, whose sagacity never failed him except when a side glance at his sincere distorted his vision, never gave in to the delusion of parliamentary reform; he all along foresaw that so great and radical a change must inevitably alter the balance of the Constitution. The French Revolution reclaimed Walpole altogether. He then no doubt began to think more leniently of Mason’s *apostacy*;—but it is not till after a lapse of twelve years, 1784-1796, that one letter from each of the parties testifies that they had returned to some habits of intercourse—though not we presume of friendship.

So ends this curious chapter in the history of faction; and however disgusting and contemptible some parts of the conduct of both Walpole and Mason must appear, we are disposed to forgive the mischief they did for the lesson that they afford. It is some satisfaction to think that they both saw with regret—and we hope with repentance—the mischievous effects of those disorganizing principles which they had so long and so strenuously endeavoured to propagate.

Mr. Mitford has touched slightly on the new hypothesis that Walpole or Mason may have had some share in *Junius*. We will not now enter into that labyrinth further than to venture a prophecy that if ever *Junius* is discovered, he also will be found to have died at least a penitent, and perhaps a courtier.

ART. VI.—ΩΡΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥΜΕΝΑ· Η ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΣΩΝ ΑΙΡΕΣΕΩΝ ΕΛΕΓΧΟΣ. E Codice Parisino nunc primum edidit *Emmanuel Miller*. Oxonii, 1851.

WITHIN the last twelvemonth the country has received several very valuable presents from the Delegates of the Clarendon press. Wycliffe's Bible, especially, has at length issued from that noble institution, complete, in a handsome form; edited—we cannot doubt, from the high character of the gentlemen employed—with trustworthy care and accuracy; and, considering the size and splendour of the volumes, at moderate cost:—a work which, in its bearings on the history of our national religion, and of the English language, will deserve, we trust will receive, a more ample notice in this journal. Nor is it without pride that we find one of our English Universities, so soon as the discovery of a work, or rather the largest and more important part of a work, by a writer so celebrated and so influential as Origen, was announced, ready at once to undertake the publication, with no timid or jealous mistrust as to what theological opinions it might favour, or on what controversies it might throw unexpected light. Satisfied, on due inquiry, that he who had discovered, or at least affiliated, the treatise was perfectly competent to edit it, the Delegates of the Clarendon lend their press, their resources, and the authority of their high name to a foreign scholar, and leave him at full liberty to conduct and accomplish his work according to his own judgment.

The editor, Emmanuel Miller, appears in the title-page without any further designation or description. He is, as we understand, by birth a Frenchman, and resident in Paris, of acknowledged eminence as a Greek scholar, and noted for rare sagacity in exploring the hidden treasures of ancient and neglected libraries. M. Miller's researches in the Escorial did not, we believe, first disinter, but the fear of his active rivalry forced forward the somewhat tardy and dilatory publication, by those who were before in the field, of certain remarkable fragments of Nicolaus of Damascus. These fragments contain an account of the death of Julius Cæsar, more nearly contemporary (Nicolaus lived in the court of Augustus) than that of any other writer now extant. They do not indeed add any new particulars to the history of that great event; but Mr. Merivale does not seem to have been aware that these extracts had been published, first, in Germany, and again, within the last year, in a large and useful volume, by the Didots—the second of the *Fragments of the Greek Historians*. We may possibly, therefore, render some service to more secluded English scholars,

scholars, by directing their attention to those very valuable and comprehensive compilations, which contain a vast mass of passages saved out of the wreck of the old Greek historians.

The manuscript of Origen was among those brought from Greece by a certain Minoides Mynas, a Greek employed by the French government, under the auspices of M. Villemain, to make literary researches in the Levant. The collection of Mynas contained also the curious and clever fables of Babrias, already repeatedly edited in France and in Germany, and in England by Mr. Cornewall Lewis. This MS. is of the fourteenth century, written by a scribe named Michael, no doubt a Greek monk. In the first official description of the collection it was merely described as 'a MS. on cotton paper, containing a refutation of heresies by an anonymous author.' The quick and experienced eye of M. Miller at once discerned evidence that it could be no other than the long-lost work called the '*Philosophoumena* of Origen.' Of this treatise, known to have comprised ten books, only part of the first book had hitherto been supposed extant. The three first are wanting in the Mynas codex, as likewise a small part of the fourth, and some leaves at the end. Not merely did the internal evidence suggest at once the author of the text, but it appeared that the copyist had been perfectly aware that the treatise was Origen's, and generally recognised as such when he made his transcript. When, for example, towards the close of the last book, the author states his own opinion on the true doctrines of Christianity, the scribe has written on the margin *Ὁριγένους* and *Ὁριγένους δόξα*. On such a subject, even if the case seemed less clear, we should be disposed to treat the opinion of M. Miller with much deference and respect. He seems, from the execution of his present task, fully to deserve his reputation as a sound and judicious scholar: we may indeed rejoice that Paris has one so well qualified to take the place of Letronne.

Accepting then for the present his conclusion that the work is Origen's, we proceed to give some brief account of its contents: selecting those points on which the matter is either curious or new, or throws unexpected light on controverted subjects—such passages more especially as may be interesting to the general reader as well as to the habitual student of Christian antiquities. This is no easy task, for the MS. seems to have been very carelessly written. The editor has corrected many of the most manifest errors. His conjectural emendations, where the blunders and corruptions are less obvious, seem in general acute and felicitous. The former amendments are very properly admitted into the text, the latter subjoined in the notes and submitted to the judgment of the reader. The Greek, as that of Origen usually is, is easy
and

and perspicuous, where the subject-matter is clear and distinct; but treating, as it often does, on very abstruse questions of philosophy and religion, and even on things in common life familiar to the author's contemporaries, but altogether obsolete and unknown in our day, it is in many places not only difficult to comprehend, but still more difficult to render into English. Perhaps we might more prudently have awaited the Essay which the editor has promised to publish in French, on the contents, scope, and value of the work; but we have been so much struck with some passages illustrative and characteristic of a period on which Pagan and Christian historians are all but totally silent—the latter part of the second and the commencement of the third century (from Commodus to Gallienus)—with the whimsical medley of information not only on the philosophy but also on the manners of the times—with one or two fragments of poetry of a high order—with details on ancient conjuring, and on the Messrs. Robins and Phillips of Rome and the provinces—with new names of heresiarchs and sectarians, and more full accounts of the opinions of others already known by name; above all we have been so startled by some very singular details on the state of the Church and the lives of one or two popes of that period, that we feel ourselves irresistibly tempted to anticipate, by a few brief notices, the more elaborate dissertations of M. Miller.

The work announces itself as a Refutation of All Heresies. The theory of Origen is that all the heresies which are broadly described as those of the Gnostics, and even those concerning the nature of the Godhead, which, commencing from Noctus, through Sabellius, afterwards gave rise to the great Trinitarian controversy, sprung directly from the Greek philosophy. Origen manifestly does not exclude Oriental influences; but his view seems to be that these Oriental influences chiefly worked through the philosophy of the Greeks. The first and most famous of the Greek sages had drawn largely from Egypt, perhaps Chaldea, and were not indeed altogether unacquainted with India. This was a theory likely to be embraced by one whose chief education had been in Alexandria, and who, as it should seem, addressed his treatise almost exclusively to Greek or Roman Christians. The three first books of the Refutation, still lost, except the portion of the first which M. Miller has reprinted from the text of De la Rue, are most fortunately those which we can best spare. They contained a summary of the doctrines of the different schools of Greek philosophy, of which we have elsewhere copious and trustworthy accounts. Taken as a whole, the remaining seven books, which, more or less complete, fill this volume, are to us the most living and remarkable revelation of the strange anarchy and confusion of opinions that

that prevailed among the more learned and cultivated classes, through all which genuine Christianity was slowly working its way.

There was, we are persuaded, a strong under-current—perhaps an upper-current also—of sound religion, more deep, pure, and strong. Many humble and simple minds received at once, in quiet and ardent and less inquiring faith, the truths of the gospel. There were those, in no inconsiderable numbers, who believed from the heart—who accepted the glad tidings—the consolations of the gospel—because they were glad and consolatory—who bowed before the irresistible evidence of Christianity presented in the purity of its precepts, in its promise of pardon, peace, everlasting life. There were some of a higher intellectual being, who rose, at once to the unincumbered majesty of its great truths, and who, with instinctive good sense, stood aloof from the subtle and presumptuous questions which Christianity did not profess to solve, or on which it avowedly maintained a wise and lofty reserve; questions, in regard to which the most enlightened of mankind, having gone sounding on into depths which become more and more unfathomable, returns to the shore, falls on his knees, and worships God in the illimitable harmony of his universe—in the wonderful world within himself—with calm hopelessness of comprehending further—hopelessness which has nothing of the gloom, terror, or agony of despair.

But the vast mass of the upper classes had received their whole education in the schools of rhetoric and philosophy—the universities and colleges of those days. And many of these, not only with that specious and disdainful hospitality with which Rome had admitted all foreign gods into her Pantheon; not merely with that cosmopolitan indifference with which all religions and all superstitions were allowed to coexist during the great era of peace—the reigns of Hadrian and the elder Antonines;—but with an honest and eager thirst after truth, were content to give Christianity a fair hearing, and partially at least to admit its purity and sublimity. What they could not and would not comprehend was its pretension to sole and exclusive truth. It might enter into their wide eclecticism, might harmonise itself, as best it could, with Pythagoras, or Plato; above all, it might not presume to set itself above those cosmogonical or theurgic questions on which those who were called the physical philosophers, or the astrologers, or the mathematicians, the whole host indeed of the leaders in the schools, professed to instruct mankind. Such was to a great extent the state of educated society throughout the world. Of the heathen part of this condition of things we have strange glimpses

glimpses in the writings of Lucian and Apuleius. And all that we know of the Christian Gnostics, from Cerinthus to Montanus and Manes, shows the same wild confusion, if not within the pale, under the denomination, using the language and resting for the most part on the sacred books, of Christianity. This is a kind of border land, where Christianity, heathenism, philosophy, Orientalism, met, mingled, and fermented in incessant turmoil and strife. Christianity had now assisted to a great extent in this total disorganization of ancient creeds and opinions, but it had by no means compelled all which it had cast loose, into the fold of its own organization. Within its own sanctuary—within its own baptized communities—it was *the truth, the way, the life*. But *without* it was one of many religions, of which each might take what he would, and mould it, whether in seeming concord or glaring incongruity, with tenets and opinions swept together from all quarters and out of all systems. The chamber of Alexander Severus, where Abraham and Orpheus, and Christ, and Apollonius of Tyana, met together in seeming amity and shared the impartial veneration of the amiable emperor, was the type and symbol of the belief through a large part of the Roman world.

That which was the peculiar excellence and strength of Christianity was at the same time its weakness—its absolutely and exclusively moral and religious spirit: its reserve, its modesty so to speak, which shrunk from, which refused to answer, much on which the Oriental religions and the philosophy of the Greeks dwelt as an essential, as an attainable part of human knowledge, and of perfect religion. A religion which made no physical or metaphysical revelations—must not presume to displace a religion or a philosophy which professed to interpret all such problems. The plain sublime truth of the one Great Creator, the Father and Ruler of the worlds, as taught in the Churches, was a meagre and unsatisfactory doctrine to those who had been discussing in the schools what God was—one, or more of the elements—or all the elements combined—whether fire or water—whether coexistent with or anterior to the original *matter*. The Omnific Word, by which, according to St. John, the Father made the worlds, seemed at once to accord with, but could not be allowed to supersede the countless theories about the Demiurge; whether he were one of the long chain of æons emanating from the Sole Supreme, the Primal, the Dark, the Ineffable, or a hostile and, as commingled with *matter*, a malignant Being. The connexion and mutual relation of the visible and invisible world, of the starry heavens and the earth; the mystic powers of numbers; the prophetic functions of words and letters; allegorical interpretations of the Greek mythology—all was to be blended and fused into Christianity.

tianity. Discomfited philosophy and discomfited superstition would come to terms; and provided that Christianity would amicably coalesce, and allow full scope for the wildest speculation, they would admit at least much of the language of the new religion. They would receive the sacred books with this privilege of unlicensed interpretation; though some of them are accused of throwing off all the severe constraint of Christian morals—while some no doubt, though on different principles—principles which afterwards worked too deeply into monastic Christianity—vied with and transcended the followers of the simple Gospel in their austere asceticism.

With this view, which deserves perhaps to be wrought out at greater length than our space will permit on the present occasion, coincides the fact broadly stated by Gibbon, that Gnostic Christianity spread chiefly among the higher and more opulent classes. Initiation, it should appear, into the Basilidian mysteries, as into the Eleusinian and Isiac, was a costly proceeding.*

The author of the work now before us, at the imperfect opening of his fourth book, appears in conflict with a certain school, who had mingled up the Chaldean astrology with Christianity. On astrology itself he makes an onslaught with vigour and success. The impossibility of calculating horoscopes is shrewdly and effectively demonstrated, but with a particularity of detail somewhat curious to those who recollect the personal history of Origen. How is it, he asks in one sentence, that since the nativities of so many must have exactly coincided with that of Alexander the Great, none other was so fortunate as Alexander? He soon, however, gets beyond his depth; confounds astronomy with astrology; and offers a memorable example of the great truth, applicable in every age of Christianity, that, if philosophy should respect the province of religion, religion should no less respect that of philosophy. It is not more unwise to demand scientific demonstration on articles of faith, than to decide scientific questions out of the Bible. He taunts no less distinguished men than Archimedes, Hipparchus, and Apollonius, with discrepancies in their respective calculations on the distances of the planets—and then winds up with this impotent sneer against, perhaps, the highest name in Grecian science, that of Ptolemy, 'Who will not be amazed at the thought and toil spent on these calculations?' This Ptolemy, who has so carefully studied these things, is not altogether an useless person. I am only grieved by this, that, being of modern times, he could be of no service to the sons of the Giants, who, knowing nothing of these measurements, thought that the heights

* Compare Munter, *Primordia Ecclesiæ Africanæ*, p. 22, note.

of heaven were near us, and endeavoured to build their tower to reach them. If he had been there to instruct them, they would not thus have laboured in vain. O idle toil of knowledge, that puffs up the soul! O faithless faith, which is no faith! that Ptolemy should be thought the wisest of men by those who cultivate this kind of 'wisdom!' Ω• ματαιοπόνου καὶ ψυχῆς φυσιώσεως καὶ πίστεως, ἀπίστου, ἵνα πάντων Πτολεμαῖος σοφὸς νομίζεται παρὰ τοῖς τὴν ὁμοίαν σοφίαν ἡσκηκόσι (p. 50).

Origen no doubt, when he had written this last sentence, felt as much complacency, as confident an assurance of superiority, as the Inquisitor when he refuted Galileo by the authority of the Church and by the dungeon—as the Dean of York when he has finished a pamphlet to demolish Sedgewick or Lyell.

Origen is more fortunate in dealing with those who, after the fashion of Pythagoras, formed a philosophy out of numbers and the letters of words; who set up for prophets on the reputation of one lucky hit out of many, but were utterly and shamelessly regardless of their perpetual failures. Our friends addicted to phrenology, mesmerism, clairvoyance, electrobiology, who *club* together the stories of their scanty successes with such zealous activity, must permit us to submit this prediction of their proceedings in the original Greek:—Ὡς ὁμοίους λόγους ἐρανισάμενοί τινες ἀποπλανῶσιν ἰδιώτας, προγνωστικούς ἐαυτοὺς φάσκοντες, ἔσθ' ὅτε διὰ τοῦ πολλὰ μαντεύεσθαι ἐν ἐπιτυχάζοντες, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀποτεύγματος μὴ αἰδούμενοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἐνὶ ἐγκομπαζόντες.

We must say of all whimsical nonsense the ancient science of numbers is the most whimsical—if indeed it was ever adduced with gravity. As explained and applied by Origen, it has much more to do with the interpretation of Homer than of the Bible. Certain powers are assigned to certain letters; and Patroclus killed Sarpedon, not because he was a better warrior, and wore the armour of Achilles, but because the letters of his name made more monads. On the same principle Polydeuces floored Amycus in the boxing-match. The affair of Paris and Menelaus seems to have been doubtful. Αλέξανδρος might even have won the victory as he won Helen; but Πάρις, having fewer letters in his name to multiply, could only escape through the aid of Venus. We have then a long list of the 'bodily and mental qualities which belonged to men born under different constellations. We are not learned enough in that horoscopic science which Lord Brougham and the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge have but so recently routed out of our common almanack, to know whether its hierophants boasted of prophetic succession from the old Roman times. We give as the briefest the type of those born under Pisces:—'They are of a moderate stature *like fish*; sharp forehead, thick

thick hair; often become grey very early. By nature magnanimous, simple, passionate, frugal; great talkers; in early youth given to sleep; determined to do everything for themselves; held in honour; bold, jealous, accusers of others, versatile, worthy of love, *dancers*, servicable friends.'

The subsequent part of this book, if fully and accurately translated—(no easy task! for the text is mutilated and corrupt—the subject matter intricate and abstruse)—would be infinitely more curious and diverting. It describes many of the conjuring tricks, which the Gnostic heretics, as we presume we are to understand from Origen, did not scruple to borrow from the heathen adepts. We have detailed accounts of the manner in which boys were made to see frightful visions—(we must not forget our Egyptian lads in modern days, and stories nearer home)—to repeat words as from the gods, conveyed to their ears by artificial pipes; receipts for various kinds of invisible ink—which became visible when necessary for the trick; we learn how to make lambs seem to cut off their own heads; how to make thunder; how men were to thrust their hands into boiling pitch, and walk over hot coals; how to make the gods appear to their wondering votaries; *Æsculapius*—(the poetical invocation of this god is, we believe, quite new)—in a flame of fire; *Artemis*, the huntress, with her hounds, &c. &c. &c. We select (requesting from our friends of more rigid scholarship some indulgence, as it is our design to make our version as intelligible as we may to the common reader) first, the act of divination by a dish—*λεκανομαντεῖαν*—afterwards a few other kindred conjurations. 'Having prepared a room, closely shut up, and painted the roof deep blue, (*κυανῶ τὸν ὄροφον χρίσαντες*), a certain number of vessels of deep blue colour are introduced and arranged around it, and in the middle is placed a stone dish, full of water, which by the reflection of the blue looks like the sky. The floor has a hidden trap; and the bottom of the dish being of glass, the accomplices in a secret chamber below show whatever forms the magician announces that the gods and goddesses are about to assume. On these the poor gull gazes, and in his awe and amazement believes whatever the magician chooses to tell him.' The author proceeds with his receipt to 'make a deity appear in a flame of fire. 'First, the magician draws on the wall whatever form is required, and then secretly smears it with an ointment composed of *Laconicum* and *Zacynthian Asphaltus*. Then, as if to lighten the chamber, a torch is whirled about till brought in contact with the wall; when the ointment catches fire, and burns briskly, and so the God appears in a blaze.' A more imposing trick was to make *Hecate* fly all on fire through the heavens. 'First, having concealed an accomplice in a certain

place, the magician leads out his dupes, promising to show them the goddess riding in flames through the air. He has made sure that it is a night without a moon; and enjoins them to take great care of their eyes directly the light appears in the heavens. They are to cover their faces, and to fall flat upon the ground, till he calls to them.' He then utters this grand invocation, which we request our fair readers, who have not aspired to learn, and our country readers who have forgotten their Greek, to have 'intoned' to them in all its sonorous and almost untranslatable awfulness.

Νερτερή, χθονίη τε, καὶ ουρανὴ μολεῖ Βομβῶ,
 Ἐννοδίη, τριοῖτι, φεισφορε, νυκτεροφοίτη :
 'Εχθρή μὲν φωτός, νυκτός τε φίλη, καὶ ἑταίρη,
 Χαίρουσα σκυλάκων ὕλακῇ τε καὶ αἵματι φοινῶ,
 'Εν γένει στείχουσα κατ' ἡρία τέθνηώτων,
 "Λιματος ἰμείρουσα, φόβον θνητοῖσι φέρουσα :
 Γοργῶ, καὶ Μορμῶ καὶ Μήνῃ (orig. Μνημῇ) καὶ Πολύμορφῃ.
 Ἐλθοις ἐνάτητος ἐφ' ἡμετέρησι θυηλαῖς—

We venture the following rude version :—

Triple Goddess, Bombo come !
 Of earth and heaven and nether gloom ;
 By the wayside thine the seat,
 And wheresoe'er three highways meet ;
 Bearer thou of flashing light !
 Walking in the depths of night,
 Hater of the sun's glad power,
 Comrade of the darksome hour ;
 Rejoicing in the savage howl
 And the blood of bantogs foul ;
 Thou above the dead that walkest,
 O'er the dismal barrows stalkest,
 For the blood-libation red
 Athirst, sad mortals' direst dread—
 Gergo, Mormo, and the Moon !
 Come ! propitious come, and soon !
 Thousaul-formed, arise, arise,
 And share our solemn sacrifice !

As he utters these words, fire is seen whirling through the air ; the spectators, shuddering at the strange sight, cover up their eyes, and throw themselves down on the ground in silence. But the telling part of the trick is to come. 'The accomplice, hidden, as before said, has a hawk or a vulture covered with tow ;—when he hears the incantation read, he sets it on fire, and lets it fly. The bird frightened by the fire soars up and flutters with the utmost rapidity : the foolish people, thinking that they have seen a god, run away and hide themselves in terror. The bird, blazing
 all

all the while, goes wheeling about here and there, and sometimes sets fire to houses or farm buildings. Such is the divination of these magicians.'

The invocations to *Æsculapius* and to *Hecate*, the latter of which we have extracted, are by no means the only fragments, certainly not the finest, of Greek poetry scattered through this volume. The author, in his view of the original Gnostics, contrasts the origin and nature of man according to the sect of the *Naassenes* (from *Nahash* the serpent, obviously the mystical *Ophites* of later writers) with the notions of the Greek poets. The Gnostic or *Ophite* Adam was clearly the Adam Cadmon of the *Cabbalists*. For the Greek legend of the birth of man he quotes the following noble passage of *Pindar*. We accept, of course, the restoration adopted in his note by *M. Miller*, as the result of the conjectures of 'the learned'—

(*Στροφη.*)

Πρώτα δ' ἔ' γαῖ' ἀνδωκεν ἄνθρωπον τότε' ἐνεγκαμένα καλὸν γέρας
ἁμέρου καὶ θεοφιλοῦς μήτηρ ἐθέλοισα γενέ-
σθαι γενεῆς. Χαλεπὸν ἔ' ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν—

(*Λυσιστροφ.*)

εἴτε Βοιωτοῖσιν Ἀλαλκομενεὺς λήμνας ὑπὲρ Καφισσίου
πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἀνέσχευ,
εἴτε καὶ Κουρήτες Ἰδαίῳ ἔσαν, θεῖον γινος,
ἢ Φρύγῳι Κορύβαντες,
οὓς τότε πρῶτους ἴδε δεινὸν φρονεῖς ἀμύλλιστ' ἀνόντας Ἀλῖος :
εἴτ' ἄρα καὶ προσελὺ νῆτον Πελασγῶ Ἀρακῆα,
ἢ Ῥαρία οἰκίητορ' Ἑλευσίς Δίανλον,
ἢ καλλιπαῖα Λῆμνος ἁρρήτων ἐτίκνωσε Κάβειρον ὀργίων :
εἴτε Παλλῆνα Φλεγραῖον Ἀλκυονῆ,
πρεσβυτάτην Θρασυγυῖων Τηγάντων.

(*Ἐπώδος.*)

πρωτόγονον Λίβυες δ' αὖτ' Ἰάριβαντα κρατερόν
φασὶν αὐχμηρῶν πεδίων ἀνάδοντα γλυκεῖ-
-ας ἀπαρξασθαι βελάννου Διός. Λιγύ-
-πτῳ δὲ καὶ νῦν Νεῖλος, ἰλὸν ἐπιλιπαί-
-νων ὑγρῇ σαρκουμένην θερμότατ',
σώματα ζῶντ' ἀνδιδοῖ.

STROPHE.

— first bare the Earth
Man her majestic birth,
Rejoicing that to her was given the grace
To be the mother of that gentle race,
Beloved of heaven ! But hard it is to know—

A.2

ANTISTROPHE.

ANTISTROPHE.

Whether within the deep Bœotian glen,
 On clear Cephissus' strand,
 Rose Alcæmæneus, the first of men ;
 Or the Cœuretæ upon Ida's side,
 That race divine ; or yet more old,
 The Corybantes in the Phrygian land,
 Did first the Sun behold
 Spring up like trees in beauty and in pride.
 Did first Arcadia her Pelasgus bear,
 Pelasgus, elder than the moon ?
 Or hoar Ekeusis bear her mystic son,
 Diaulus, in the Rarian haunts to dwell ?
 Or Lemnos that bright boy so fair,
 Cabeiros, him the sire
 Of the dark orgies, which no tongue may tell ?
 Or earlier bare Pallene rude
 Alcyoneus, nursed in Phlegrean fire,
 The eldest of the huge-limbed giant brood ?

EPODE.

Nor less doth Libya boast, that first of all
 From her parched plains did strong Iarbas rise,
 From his own tree the acorn fruits that fall
 Unto great Jove to bring, sweet sacrifice !
 Nilus in Egypt still, as in old time,
 Under her genial influence, moist and warm,
 To embodied life her rich prolific slime
 Kindles, and quickens into human form.

To that distinguished scholar, M. Schneidewin, we owe the arrangement, and also the few conjectural amendments in the following splendid fragments of a hymn concerning that mystic personage whom Catullus has sung in what (whether it be or be not a translation more or less free of some Greek Dithyrambic) is certainly the noblest lyric poem in the Latin language :—*Super alta nectus Atys celeri rate maria*.

Εἶτε Κρόνου γενος, εἶτε Διὸς μάκαρος,
 εἶτε Πέας μεγάλης,
 χυῖρε τὸ νιτηχὲς ἄλουσμι Ῥέας,
 Ἄττι, σὲ καλοῦσι μὲν Ἀσσύριοι
 τριπόθητον Ἀδωνιν,
 ὅσιον δ' Αἴγυπτος ἐπουρανιον
 μήνης κέρας, Ἕλληνες δ' Οφίαν,
 Σαμῶθρακες Δεῦμα σεβάσμιον,
 Μαϊόνιοι Κορύβαντα καὶ οἱ Φρύγες,
 ἄλλοτε μὲν Παππαν, ποτὲ δ' αὖ νέκυν,
 ἢ θεόγνητον ἄκαρπον,
 ἢ χλοερὸν στάχυν ἀμηθέντα,

ἢ ὁν

ἡ ὄν πολύκαρπος ἔτικτεν
ἀμύγδαλος ἀνέρα συρικτάν.
* * *

The second canticle runs thus :—

Ἄττιν κλήσω τὸν Ρειῆς
οὐ κωδώνωρ σὺν βομβοίῃ,
οὐδ' αὐλῶν Ἰδαίων
Κουρήτων μύκτητα :
ἀλλ' εἰς Φοῦβέϊαν μίξω
μοῦσαν φορμίγγων, ἐνοί,
ἐνὰν, ὡς Παν, ὡς Βακχύνι,
ὡς ποιμὴν λευκῶν ἀστρῶν. •

A few lines of these stanzas we have ventured to fill out, on our own conjectures as to their mythical purport.

Son of Saturn ! Son of Jove !
Or born of mighty Rhea's love.
Holy name, that sounds so dear
To that ancient Rhea's ear !
Thee the old Assyrians all
The thrice-wept Adonis call.
To thee for name hath Egypt given
The holy horned Moon of heaven.
Thou the Serpent-god of Greece—

The all-reverenced Adam thou of Samothrace.
Thee the Lydians, Phrygians, thee
Invoke, the Corybantic Deity :
Thee Pappas now, and now the Dead :
Now lifting up re-born the godlike head ;
Unfruitful now on barren desert brown,
Now the rich golden harvest mowing down ;
Or whom the blossoming almond-tree
Brought forth on the free hills the piper blithe to be.
* * *

Atys, old Rhea's son, I sing,
Not with the wild bells' clashing ring,
Nor Ida's fife, in whose shrill noise
The old Coureter still rejoice ;
But with the mingling descant meet
Of Phœbus' harp, so soft, so sweet,
Evan ! Evan ! Pan I call !
Evan ! the wild Bacchanal !

• Or that bright Shepherd that on high
Folds the white stars up in the silent sky.

We were somewhat disappointed, as Origen accuses Marcion of having derived his whole system from Empedocles, that we have not found more extracts from his great philosophic poem. There are but few lines, and those not of much worth, which were
not

not already well known, and to be read in the collections of Sturz, or of Karsten.

The extent and value of the accession to our knowledge on the curious if somewhat unprofitable history of Gnosticism, and its endlessly branching sects, from this treatise, can only be ascertained from a close and laborious comparison of its statements with those of Irenæus (whose work, it should be observed, Origen had read), of Epiphanius, of Theodoret, and with all the multifarious notices scattered over the writings of the earlier Fathers. This inquiry lies across the threshold of Christian history; the student must thread his intricate and perplexed way through it, or he will be utterly unable to trace with any satisfactory result the progress and development of more genuine Christianity. Within its dark borders must be sought many of the most influential principles which have since operated in the realms of religion. Out of Gnosticism sprung more or less remotely all the later heresies. Even within what has called itself *the Church*, how much, having no connexion with the primitive element of the Gospel, is of Gnostic parentage!

It appears to us, on a hasty and of necessity somewhat cursory view, that there are some remarkable discrepancies in the statements of this treatise. We find in it, however, passages of no disputable importance—which may throw light on the obscurest problems of Gnosticism. Names hitherto either absolutely unknown, or lurking in some obscure corner of Patristic theology, here assume prominence and authority.

We shall confine ourselves to some observations on him, whom almost all antiquity has recognised as the Father of Christian heresy, the Hero, as Beausobre has called him, of the Romance of Heresy, Simon Magus. Perhaps the narrow view which is the thesis of Origen's work, that all these heresies were but transmutations of the Greek systems of philosophy, is most objectionable as regards the Samaritan Magus; although there appears to have been more of a Greek,—nay, strange as it may sound, of an Homeric element, in his notions than has been generally supposed. At the outset of the refutation of Simon we find a name new to us, but which seems to have been of some importance, at least to have given rise to a most extravagant legend. As Simon Magus averred himself in some sense to be God, so did Apsethus of Libya. The foolish Libyans sacrificed to Apsethus, persuaded, as they thought, by a voice from Heaven. The trick was incredibly gross. Apsethus shut up together a great number of the parrots which abound in that country. He taught them all to say 'Apsethus is a God.' He then turned them loose, and everywhere throughout the district, nay far beyond its bounds, the report

report spread and was credited that voices from Heaven had announced Apsethus to be a God. A shrewd Greek, however, detected and ere long counterworked the plot: he caught some of the parrots, and taught them a new 'utterance'—viz. 'Apsethus shut us up, and forced us to say Apsethus is a God.' The Libyans, hearing this 'palinodia' of the parrots, seized and burned Apsethus.

The gravity with which Origen relates this absurd story, and turns it against Simon, we must acknowledge casts some suspicion on his relation of Simon's own acts and doctrines. This legend of Simon (for legend we must presume to call it) was hitherto chiefly known from Irenæus and from those remarkable religious fictions which pass under the name of *Clementina*—the *Recognitions* and *Homilies* of Clement. Origen seems to decide one point, which has so divided the learned, that Walch in his *History of Heretics* (*Ketzer-Geschichte*), the fairest and fullest book on this subject, declines to give any opinion upon it—namely whether there were any writings which in subsequent times passed current under the name of Simon. Origen quotes more than once an 'Ἀποφαισι,' bearing Simon's name, and which must have been commonly accepted so late as Origen's day as the accredited exposition of Simon's opinions. Of this legend there are two distinct parts, resting on different authority: 1st, the journey of Simon to Rome, and his deification by the Emperor Claudius; 2nd, his conflict with St. Peter at Rome, his attempt to fly up into the air, and his fall, by which he broke his neck and died. The first part of the legend, it is well known, rests on a passage in Justin Martyr's apology, who appeals to an inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*. This strange story passed current in the older uncritical period; it was received by Roman Catholic writers of no less name than Tillemont, Massuet, Foggini; by Protestants as learned as Beveridge, Hammond, Cave, and Spencer. Even Anon Pagi and Fleury did not venture to avow their manifest disbelief. It was rejected as a fable by later and more severe inquirers—especially after the discovery of a stone with the inscription to a Sabine Deity (*Simoni Deo Sancto*)—by Dupin, Valesius, Maffei, of the Roman Church; by Grabe, the Basnages, Le Clerc, Buddeus, Mosheim. Sober students will now hardly do more than inquire into the origin of the myth. To this first story we can discover no allusion in the present work. The second part of the legend, the conflict with St. Peter at Rome, and its disastrous end in the death of Simon, is not found earlier than in writers of the fourth century. Roman Catholic writers have been of course less willing to abandon this tale—although, as respects external

external authority, it is even worse supported than the former. Those who have doubted, have disguised their doubts in prudent hesitation,—e. g. Valesius, Calmet, Cotelierius. By most Protestant writers it has been thrown aside as unworthy of any remark;—while by Ittig, Bèausobre, and Mosheim, it is supposed to have grown out of a story in Dion Cassius and in Suetonius about a flying conjuror at Rome in the days of Nero. In this work we find a different version of the legend, and one, as far as our recollection extends, altogether new. Origen relates, that St. Peter and Simon Magus encountered at Rome; Simon deceived many persons by his magic arts, and was resisted by St. Peter; but of his attempted flying into the air there is not one word. 'At length Simon went to * * [unfortunately the word is illegible], sate under a plane-tree, and began to teach. Being hard pressed by his adversaries, he offered to be buried alive, declaring that he would rise again on the third day. He ordered his disciples to dig a grave, and to bury him. They did as they were ordered; but there Simon has remained till this day (ὁ δὲ ἀπέμεινεν ἕως νῦν), for he was not Christ.'

We shall not bewilder ourselves and our readers with an attempt (desperate in such space as we can afford) to reduce the strange and discordant doctrines, exhibited as those of Simon Magus, to order and harmony. We will only gather into one brief statement the sources which Origen indicates, or from which appear more or less distinctly to have sprung, this wild though not absolutely incoherent, certainly not unimaginary system. The Samaritan Magus draws indifferently from Heraclitus the Dark, perhaps from Anaxagoras, from the Oriental or Cabbalistic *Mons*, from Homer, from the books of Moses—allegorically interpreted—and even from the Gospels. Simon knew nothing of the theory almost universal among the later Gnostics, and by many writers supposed to have originated with him, the theory so irreconcilably hostile to the Jews, which held the Jewish theocracy to be the manifestation, the Mosaic Law the code, of the malignant Demiurge. On the contrary, Simon's first axiom was derived from the book of Deuteronomy—'God is a burning and consuming fire.' Fire with him was the primal, parental deity—according to his description, infinite power, ἀπείρατος δύναμις. This fundamental principle he wrapped up in antitheses borrowed from Heraclitus and Empedocles. From this deity emanated, or manifested themselves, his six *Mons*, male and female, and these, with the original, the Spirit of God, which moved upon the waters, made up the mystic seven. The Mosaic creation, Eden, Paradise, the four rivers, are all wrought into a confused and, as it appears here, unintelligible allegory, into which, 'strangely enough, are interwoven

interwoven the lost sheep of the Gospels and the axe at the root of the tree. But Simon was not content with allegorising the books of Moses; he allegorised the poets, the Trojan war, the wooden horse; the Helen of Troy was in some way the type, if not the previous incarnation of his mistress Helena. His mistress was not only this, but also the lost sheep, which he, the Supreme Power (*δύναμις ὑπὲρ πάντων*) had redeemed—a type of the redemption of mankind by himself. His own Helena he had bought, and lived with her, and framed this fable out of respect for the morals of his disciples. His disciples, however, according to the charge perpetually brought by the orthodox against the Gnostics, followed his licence, and proclaimed universal concubinage as perfect love. We may add that the assertion—no older, we believe, in writings hitherto extant, than Augustine's—that Simon proclaimed himself in Judæa as the Son, in Samaria as the Father, among the other nations as the Holy Ghost, appears in the present treatise in the same express words.

And men, educated, intelligent, acute, reasoning men were found in vast numbers to believe, to enrol themselves as believers, to devote their lives, to form lasting communities, to die (for some of the Gnostic sects had their martyrs) in defence of opinions, according to our habits and modes of thought, so wild, incongruous, contradictory, absurd; of baseless and conflicting theories, which seemed carefully to gather and condense all the monstrous corruptions, the extravagant assumptions, the unreasoning reasonings, of misinterpreted Christianity and misapplied philosophy.

What then is to be our conclusion? That adventurers—that philosophers in the schools, finding their hearers weary of their old worn-out disputations—that self-appointed instructors of mankind, stimulated by the inexhaustible and unappeased craving of the human heart and mind for some intellectual, or imaginative, or moving religion—stimulated by the success of Christianity, which they understood not, or cared not to understand—set up one after another their rival systems; that mankind, rather than endure the total blank left by the gradual extinction of all reverence for the old effete forms of faith, acquiesced in, allowed itself to be occupied, amused, even stirred by these excitements, and would receive even such religions rather than acquiesce in utter irreligiousness?—Or was it that some at least of these systems had more real depth, order, and harmony, but were not understood, or understood but imperfectly by the uninitiate; that in these, as in all Eclectic systems, there is some real, but more apparent discrepancy; that our practical western wisdom, which even in its Mysticism requires more clear and definite conceptions, and attempts

attempts to be logical and consecutive in its wildest flights, cannot comprehend that luxury of orientalism, that lawless creativeness of the religious imagination, that sublimation of words into beings, that impersonation of ideal conceptions, that embodiment of abstractions, that realisation of unrealities, which in some periods and in some regions becomes, if not the dominant, a widely prevailing religion?—To these elements must be added a certain proportion of what we consider as true Christianity, with not a few lingering remnants of the old classical paganism and its picturesque superstitions. So perhaps Gnosticism, if not more clearly comprehensible, becomes less absolutely unconceivable; we have some dim and indistinct vision of the sources, the developments, the ramifications, the power and vitality for nearly two centuries of this obstinate antagonist—of this (even if we disjoin it from its more vigorous and enduring offspring, Manicheism) almost dangerous rival—of Christianity.

But incomparably the most curious and most unexpected discovery in this volume is that glimpse, or more than glimpse, of historical light which is thrown on a most obscure period in the history of Christianity, and certainly the most obscure part of the history; that of the Church in Rome. The annals of the Church in Rome are, in truth, as far as authentic documents (or any that can lay the least claim to that title) are concerned, almost a total blank from Clement (asserted to have been the immediate successor of St. Peter, who, as we all know, was, according to ecclesiastical tradition, the first Bishop of Rome) to Pope Victor (A.D. 192-202), whom the controversy about the Easter Festival brought out into distinct historical existence. The false and exploded Decretals have vainly endeavoured to fill up the chasm: even the martyrologies are almost silent, or assign the name of martyr to most of the Bishops of Rome with that indiscriminating veneration which shows their total want of authority. After Victor the gloom settles again upon the history of the Church in Rome. But among the few facts which rest on trustworthy grounds is the visit of Origen to Rome during the episcopate of Zephyrinus, the successor of Victor, A.D. 202-219. Eusebius (vi. 14), speaking of Origen under his proper name of *Adamantius*, says that he made a journey to Rome, at the time when 'Zephyrinus presided over the Roman Church.' He himself (adds the historian) writes in these words:—*Being desirous to see the very ancient Church of Rome, he passed no long time there, and returned to Alexandria.*—The work now before us suddenly reveals the result of Origen's journey; the state of Christian affairs in Rome; the heresies and disputes which were distracting the

the community; the characters of two successive Pontiffs—Zephyrinus and Callistus I.; the whole life, not represented in the most favourable view, of the latter; the part which Origen himself took in the prevailing controversies; with many incidental glimpses of Roman society; all related with simple sincerity and with life-like reality, and—making, of course, due allowances for any bias or prepossession of which Origen may be justly suspected—with every appearance of truth.

The opinions of Noetus had made considerable progress in Rome. Noetus was the author, or one of the authors, of what was called the Patripassian heresy—a heresy the prolific parent of those controversies concerning the Personality of the Godhead, which for centuries distracted, and perhaps, by the powerful abilities which they brought out, strengthened the Church. The history of Noetus has hitherto been so obscure, that the date at which he lived has been usually placed above twenty years too late; and a writer so fairly informed as Theodoret has represented Epigonus (Epigenes) and Cleomenes, his followers and scholars, as his precursors and teachers. A recent writer has thus described Noetus:—

‘Noetus, an Asiatic, either of Smyrna or Ephesus, had dwelt with such exclusive zeal on the unity of the Godhead, as to absorb, as it were, the whole Trinity into one undivided and undistinguished Being. The one Supreme and Impassible Father united to himself the Man Jesus by so intimate a conjunction, that the Divine unity was not destroyed. His adversaries drew the conclusion that, according to this blaspheming theory, the Father must have suffered on the Cross, and the ignominious name of Patripassians adhered to the few followers of this unprosperous sect.’—Milman's *History of Christianity*, ii. 429.

The latter sentence is accurate: before the days of Epiphanius and Augustine the Patripassians had died out in despised obscurity. But in the days of Origen they were neither few nor unprosperous. The school of Cleomenes, the second successor of Noetus, might boast of two Popes: namely, Zephyrinus, who was deceived into the public avowal of this opinion in the most crude and offensive form—and Callistus, who was connected, as will appear, even more closely with the same school.

Noetus, according to Origen, had bewildered himself with the abstruse philosophy of Heraclitus the Dark. Heraclitus among the Greeks seems to have enjoyed that fame, of which Hegel is said to have made his boast—‘There is but one man in Europe who understands me, and he does not understand me.’ The doctrine of Heraclitus had another resemblance to Hegel's—it seems to have been a vast Pantheism, in which everything was
everything

everything else—every opposite was its opposite. But we must be excused from plunging after Noetus into these unfathomable depths; it is not our object so much to examine his opinions, and the conceptions which led to those opinions, as to state his tenets, as, according to Origen, they were openly maintained in Rome, while Zephyrinus presided over that Church. ‘Cleomenes and all his school, involving many in this Heraclitean darkness, assert, that He who in his passion was affixed to the cross; who gave up his spirit to himself; who died, yet did not die; who raised himself up on the third day; who was buried in the tomb, pierced with the spear, and transfixed with the nails—was the God and *Father* of the universe. Callistus was the great strength of this heresy, a man of the subtlest wickedness, and master of all the various arts of deception (ἐν κακίᾳ ἡανούργος, καὶ ποικίλος πρὸς πλάνην); and Callistus aspired to the Episcopal throne.’

Of the martyrdom of this Callistus, under Fuscianus, Prefect of Rome, Origen gives the following account. Martyrdom (in the ecclesiastical language), we must warn our readers (if it were needful we could quote words of Baronius on this point), by no means implies of necessity the death of the confessor; it is extended to any sufferings endured for the faith. But the whole story of Callistus’ life, as now told by Origen, is so characteristic of the times, that we must translate the passage, though rather a long one:—

‘Callistus was the domestic servant of a certain Carpophorus, a Christian in the household of Cæsar. Carpophorus intrusted to him, as a fellow Christian, a considerable sum of money, instructing him to lend it out at interest. Callistus set up a bank for loans (τράπεζα) in what is called the Piscina Publica. At his bank in process of time many pledges of widows and poor brethren were deposited, on the credit of the name of Carpophorus. But Callistus, having made away with the whole, fell into difficulties. His proceedings were soon made known to Carpophorus, who immediately said that he would call upon him for his accounts. When Callistus knew this, dreading the danger with which he was threatened by his master, he ran away towards the sea; and finding a ship in the port ready to set sail to the place of her destination, got on board and engaged his passage. He could not, however, escape detection; there were those who instantly communicated his flight to Carpophorus. Carpophorus hastened to the harbour, and endeavoured to get on board the ship. She was in the middle of the harbour; the captain slackened her course, and Callistus, recognising his master, became desperate and leaped into the sea. But the sailors, jumping into the boats, took him up against his will. A great cry was raised from the shore, and Callistus, delivered up to his master, was led back to Rome. His master threw him into prison (εἰς πύργον). After a certain time, it happened that some of the brethren came to Carpophorus, entreating him
to

to release the runaway from prison, for he had confessed that he had money in the hands of certain persons. Carpophorus, being an upright man (εὐλαβής), replied that he did not care for his own losses, but for the poor people's pledges: for many had come to him in tears and said that they had trusted Callistus with all the property they had placed in pawn, entirely on the credit of his name. Carpophorus, however, was persuaded to let him out. But Callistus, having nothing to pay, and finding it impossible, being carefully watched, to make another escape, thought of some means of death: and, on the Sabbath, pretending to go out to meet his creditors, he went into the synagogue of the Jews, there assembled for worship, and stood up and made a great disturbance. The Jews, upon this disturbance, fell violently on him, beat him, and dragged him before Fuscianus, prefect of the city. This was their charge:—"The Romans have granted us the privilege of reading in public the laws of our Fathers; but this fellow came in and interfered with us, raising divisions, and saying that he is a Christian." Fuscianus betraying his indignation at the charges brought against Callistus, some one ran and told Carpophorus what was going on. He, making all haste to the tribunal of the Prefect, cried out, "I entreat you, my lord Fuscianus, do not believe him:—he is not a Christian; he is only seeking some means of death, having made away with money belonging to me." The Jews thought this a mere trick to screen the criminal from justice, and continued to clamour with more vehement hostility. The Prefect was moved by them, and having scourged Callistus, transported him to the mines in Sardinia. After a certain time, other martyrs being there, Marcia, the godly (φιλόθεος) mistress of Commodus, wishing to do some good work, sent for the blessed Victor, the bishop of the Church, and inquired about the martyrs in Sardinia. Victor gave her all their names, but left out that of Callistus, being aware of his crimes. Marcia, having obtained the grant of her petition from Commodus, intrusted the order for their release to Hyacinthus, an aged eunuch, who set sail with it to Sardinia, and delivered it to the Governor of the island. The Governor released all the prisoners except Callistus. Callistus fell on his knees, and entreated with tears to be released with the rest. Hyacinthus, yielding to his importunity, asked this favour of the Governor, asserting that it must have been an omission on the part of Marcia, and promising to bear him harmless. The Governor was persuaded to release Callistus also. Victor, however, was much grieved at what had taken place, but, being a kindly man, held his peace. But to avoid reproach (for the misdeeds of Callistus were of recent date) he sent him to live in Antium, making him a monthly allowance for his support.

After the death of Victor, Zephyrinus, to his own misfortune, promoted Callistus into the ranks of the clergy, removed him from Antium, and set him over the cemetery. The former clause of this sentence is not quite clear—perhaps corrupt. The latter runs *εἰς τὸ κοιμητήριον κατέστησε*. On this passage, almost literally translated, two observations may be made. The favour of Marcia,

Marcia, the mistress of Commodus, towards the Christians is matter of history. The Epitomator of Dion Cassius has this sentence singularly accordant with that of Origen:—*ἰστορεῖται δὲ αὕτη πολλά τε ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν σπουδάζειν, καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοὺς εὐεργετήκεναι, ἅτε καὶ παρὰ τῷ Κομμοδῷ πᾶν δυναμένη* (L. lxxii. c. 5). *But she is said to have shown great zeal in behalf of the Christians, and to have conferred on them many benefits, having unbounded power over Commodus.* The placing Callistus over the cemetery coincides remarkably with the name of the famous catacomb of Callistus near the Appian way, described in Aringhi's *Roma Subterranea* (iii. 12). It curiously confirms the opinion of Aringhi that this cemetery was older than the time of Callistus.

Pope Zephyrinus is described in terms which we acknowledge that we are greatly surprised to find applied to a Bishop of Rome at that early period. The famous and sanguinary contest between Damasus and Ursicinus for the bishopric was nearly a century and a half later, after Constantine, when the Pontificate had become a station of wealth and dignity. Origen was a man of the most profound piety, as far as we know, far from an ungentle and uncandid spirit. The consciousness of vast Alexandrian learning might have seemed to justify a proud notion of his own personal and intellectual superiority; the Greek might have despised (how far did he understand?) the ruder, less subtle, less philosophic Latin. Zeal for his own views of Christian truth, the heat of controversy, might have sharpened and given something of a haughty and peremptory tone to his language. All this we could understand. But not merely is there no deference for the rank, the office (what shall we say of the infallibility?) of the Bishop of Rome, but the most deliberate contempt, and more than contempt, for the person and for the theology of the ruling Pontiff. Zephyrinus (p. 279) is an 'unlearned, ignorant man;' and worse than that, 'greedy of filthy lucre, who for gain permitted the Christians of Rome to crowd to the schools of Cleomenes.' Nay, Zephyrinus, he adds, was so entirely governed by the crafty and unprincipled Callistus as to resort to these schools himself. In a second passage, Zephyrinus is not only 'unlearned,' but 'altogether without knowledge of the terms and definitions of the Church (*ἀπειρος τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ὀρων*) whom Callistus led and governed at his will; he is moreover 'accessible to bribes, covetous of money.' The Bishop, we read, was thus the cause of infinite divisions among the brethren; 'shifting his opinions for his advantage—sometimes, to conciliate their friendship, siding with the friends of truth—sometimes veering towards the tenets of Sabellius, whom he drove to extremities, when he might have kept him within bounds.' Zephyrinus did not disdain the admonitions

admonitions of Origen; 'but when he was alone with Callistus he inclined again to the tenets of Cleomenes, and declared them to be his own.' Callistus even brought forward Zephyrinus to declare in public, 'I acknowledge *one God, Jesus Christ, and none other beside him*, that was born and suffered.' At other times Callistus said, 'It was not the Father that died, but the Son.' 'So that there was endless confusion among the people.' Origen resisted these doctrines with manly and steadfast resolution: when Callistus prevailed with the many, and Origen stood alone, Callistus poured out all the secret venom of his heart, and called Origen a ditheist.

But, if Origen expresses profound contempt for the feeble, wavering, misguided, avaricious Zephyrinus, his feelings towards Callistus darkened into what he, no doubt, considered righteous hatred. The first act of Callistus when he obtained the object of his ambition, the bishopric of Rome, was the *excommunication* (*ἀποκρίσειν*) of Sabellius as heterodox. 'This he did from awe of me; and in order to do away the reproach made against the Church, of erroneous opinions.' But, according to Origen, Callistus, though he obtained by his craft and subtlety numerous followers, fell from Scylla into Charybdis, from one heresy into a worse: he was embarrassed by his own accusation of Origen as a ditheist, and pressed by Sabellius as having abandoned his former faith. The substance of this new heresy, which the profound student of Christian history will find in nearly a page (p. 289) of nicely balanced theological metaphysics, seems to have been—that the visible, the man Jesus, was the Son; the Holy Ghost, comprehended within the Son, was the Father: so that the Father suffered *with* the Son, but did not suffer *as* the Father. Thus he thought that he avoided the imputation of saying that there were two Gods, Father and Son. 'So wavered he, backwards and forwards, from Sabellius to Theodotus.'

But this speculative heresy, which till the great contest of Athanasius and Arius had not assumed the awful and all-absorbing importance which it has since that time maintained in the Church, is not the only charge brought by the author of this treatise against the successor of Zephyrinus.* Callistus is accused by Origen of having introduced, the Church of Rome of having sanctioned, universal laxity of morals, more particularly among the clergy. Origen, it must be remembered,

* We had almost begun to entertain charitable doubts whether this Callistus was the same with the successor of Zephyrinus. But on that point the editor seems to entertain no doubt, nor, on consideration, can we. There is a peculiarity in the expression relating to his succession to the Bishopric—*νομίζων τετυχηκέναι οὐ ἐθρῶτο* (pp. 288, 289); but exactly the same word is used of the episcopal administration of Zephyrinus—*Ζεφυρίνου διέπειν νομίζοντος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* (p. 279).

belonged

belonged to the more austere school on all these questions. He may have repented of the rash act of his youth, by which he secured himself against carnal temptations, but he was not less stern and severe against all carnal indulgencies. Callistus, apparently, on these points, followed the gentler and more merciful course; he admitted all offenders to repentance, and upon repentance granted them absolution. To our amazement we find Origen setting up a school in direct opposition to the Bishop in Rome, excommunicating certain individuals,* and complaining that by the admission on easy terms of persons troubled in conscience for such offences, as well as for heretical opinions, Callistus filled his own Church. 'This man too taught as a dogma, that if a Bishop should be guilty of a sin, even of a deadly sin, he was not to be deposed.' What Origen esteemed a deadly sin appears from the next sentence. 'From that time men who had been twice, nay thrice married, were admitted to the rank of deacons, of priests, even of bishops; nay, if one already in the clerical order chose to marry, he was allowed to remain in it as if he had committed no sin.' The Apostle's saying was quoted as justifying this—'Who art thou that judgest another man's servant.' The parable of the wheat and the tares, the ark of Noah which contained the clean and unclean, were also alleged. It was only, says Origen, by flattering these passions of the multitude, by the concession of pleasures which 'Christ had not conceded,' by this facility of absolution, that the places where Callistus and his partizans taught were thronged with eager votaries. And yet there is a more hideous charge to come. Widows were permitted, if in the state implied by the strong expression of the Apostle, not only to marry again in their own rank, but to take to themselves a slave or a freed man, whom they could not legally marry. Hence, abortion by means of drugs, and other enormities to conceal disreputable connexions. 'See then,' winds up the indignant Origen, 'to what a height of impiety has this lawless man advanced, teaching adultery and murder; and yet they who blush not at these misdeeds presume to call themselves the Catholic Church; and many, thinking that they are acting rightly, go with them all their length. They too first dared to administer a second baptism. Such were the acts of this most wonderful Callistus, whose school still exists, teaching these usages and these traditions, making no distinction with whom

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they communicate, admitting all to indiscriminate communion. From their founder, Callistus, these men are called Callistians.'

Now there is at once a very singular illustration and perhaps confirmation of these charges, in a well-known passage of another ancient writer. Tertullian, especially after he had joined the Montanists, was of the same extreme and austere school with Origen. In the first chapter of his treatise *De Pudicitia* are these words:—

'I hear that an edict has been promulgated, and that a peremptory one. The Supreme Pontiff forsooth, the Bishop of Bishops, declares—I will remit the sins of adultery and fornication to those who do proper penance. (Pontifex scilicet Maximus, Episcopus Episcoporum, dicit: *Ego et mœchiæ et fornicationis delicta penitentia functis dimitto*).'

The Jesuit Petavius supposed this Pontifex Maximus to be the Pope Zephyrinus: other writers, Gieseler for instance (vol. i. p. 287), have thought it improbable that titles of such lofty import, even if only applicable to the West, and to Africa, the province of Rome—(the African Churches sprung from that of Rome)—had been assumed so early by a Bishop of Rome. They have therefore conjectured it to be more probable that it was the Bishop of Carthage who thus took on himself metropolitan power. We are not quite sure whether the dates of Tertullian's writings are so accurately ascertained as to preclude the supposition that the passage we have quoted refers rather to Callistus. Even if that should be the case, Zephyrinus, acting so notoriously under the influence of Callistus, may have issued such an edict as Tertullian recites. After all, possibly, this accumulation of haughty titles may be the bitter irony of Tertullian, to introduce more emphatically the fierce taunts with which he as it were tears in pieces and tumbles on the offensive edict, condemning it and repudiating it as a licence to all lust, in the very stronghold of the most wicked and shameless lusts. On the whole, however, nothing can be more striking than the coincidence between the two passages of the *Philosophoumena* and the *De Pudicitia*.

Such are the singular revelations of what we may presume to call up to this time the pre-historic state of the Church in Rome. It is by no means difficult to account for the loss in the West, until our own days, of this treatise; for the total ignorance of its contents in the Latin Church; for its seclusion in its own untranslated Greek. Origen, our readers are no doubt aware, though the ablest, most powerful, most learned, most copious Christian writer before the fourth century, enjoyed but a doubtful and contested reputation. He was hardly dead before his fame became the object of as fierce a strife as the body of Patroclus, though

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with different weapons,—fierce and interminable polemic tracts. But it was not on the great question of the Personality of the God-head that the opinions of Origen were chiefly obnoxious. On this subject his definitions might want the severe and jealous precision of the post-Athanasian period. He was claimed, if not by Arius, by Eusebius, and the semi-Arians as on their side; but he was also triumphantly adduced by Athanasius himself as at least the harbinger of rigid orthodoxy. In the long profession of faith which closes this book—a confession which we must leave it for the learned editor to compare minutely with the views of Origen, elsewhere recorded—we can discover no expressions which it would be fair for the most rigorous theologian to except against in a pre-Athanasian writer. Other tenets of Origen certainly jarred harshly against the dominant creed—his notion of an infinite succession of creations, as many perhaps as might satisfy the portentous demands of modern geologists—his notion that the present state was part of a vast purgatorial system—that finally the wicked, even the wicked angels, would be absorbed into the all-comprehensive love of the Great Creator.

The warfare ceased not with ancient times. The question whether the soul of Origen is in hell was debated after the revival of letters, with eager zeal on both sides. Bayle, in his shrewd, cold, characteristic article on Origen, gives a summary of the controversy. Among the nine hundred propositions which John Pico Mirandula offered in the chivalrous spirit of reviving scholarship to maintain against all comers, was the possible salvation of Origen. He was rebuked by the Church of Rome; not only had the doctrine of Origen been condemned by an Œcumenic council (the fifth), not only had ten distinct anathemas been uttered against his tenets, but his person was under the unrepealed censure of the Church. A Jesuit, Stephen Binet, did not venture openly to propound the milder doctrine; he was forced to disguise his own manifest bearing, and set up, in his treatise, some of the most distinguished theologians to debate the doubtful point. The foremost advocate of Origen was Erasmus—his determined adversary Baronius. Among the arguments *contra* one was this: That a good man, in a vision, obtained by the prayers of a holy hermit, beheld a sort of hell openèd before him, in which he saw, and heard a roll-call of all the more famous heresiarchs, and among them stood Origen, covered with horror, flames, and confusion. On the other hand, the side of critical suspense at least, was alleged a revelation to the Holy Abbess Mechtildis, 'that God would not let the world know what was become of Samson, Solomon, and Origen—(singular

gular associates!—in order to strike terror into the strongest, the wisest, and the most learned men of this world, by keeping them in suspense and uncertainty.'

How far the publication of this treatise will affect that question in the estimation of some, we presume not to conjecture: we fear that if it depend on a certain Church, his chance of getting out of hell will not be improved. The *Philosophoumena* of Origen may perhaps find a place in the *Index Expurgatorius* by the side of Archbishop Whately's *Logic*, and then, alas! for poor Origen. For ourselves, as to the fate of Origen, we may have some lurking tenderness for a man of such unimpeachable Christian holiness, though that holiness may have wrought itself up to ascetic austerity—some quiet admiration for a man, in his own time, of incomparable learning; we may have some humble presentiment that the God of infinite love will not severely visit for the offence of entertaining notions, however erroneous, of his power, which certainly tended not to lower the awe of that power—of that mercy, which Origen only made more vast and comprehensive than others; we, therefore, are content to await in complacent ignorance the solution of that terrible secret.

To conclude in a more grave and serious tone. As our ideal of pure, infallible, impeccable Christianity rests undisturbed within the sacred and defined circle of the New Testament, and is condensed and concentrated only in the lives of our Lord and His Apostles—as we are not bound to assert the immutability of any particular church or succession of prelates—it is matter of supreme indifference to us whether two Patripassian popes, or popes, according to later phrase, infected with Patripassianism, gave a sad and ominous precedent for later aberrations—the compulsory Arianism charged against Liberius—the Eutychianism against Vigilius—the Monothelitism against Honorius; the theological freak about the beatific vision, which John XXII. was obliged to recant, in order to die in peace. To us it is far more melancholy to hear of avarice, intrigue, ambition, at so early a period—that the fine gold of evangelic meekness, incorruptible integrity, unselfish generosity, perfect charity, had so soon become dim. It seems by no means unnatural or improbable—it seems indeed worthy of all candid consideration—that Latin prelates should at first be bewildered and perplexed by questions raised out of Greek philosophy, and treated with all the subtlety, the inexhaustible versatility, the fine precision of the Greek language, to which the hard and unpliant Latin could not readily adapt itself: that before these questions had been fully discussed, and before any deliberate determination of the Church, Bishops in Rome should have floated about and wavered—

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perhaps

perhaps have been betrayed into dangerous concessions, or misguided into logical consequences altogether unforeseen. But for the other heads of the indictment there is no similar apology to be suggested.

Meanwhile, the question of most immediate interest to critics is the truth and historic value of the document. Possibly it may be impugned. We can hardly doubt in these days that the most consummate ingenuity and learning will be brought to bear on its authenticity, authority, authorship; but to our present judgment it opens a page of history, new, original, and, with due allowance of course for the character and position of the writer—though of course a witness so unexpected must be submitted to the severest cross-examination—ingenuous, truthful, and credible. We as yet see no reason whatever to suspect that the writer appears under a misnomer, that he is not the real Origen, and that Origen was not himself present, and personally and busily engaged in the transactions of which M. Miller assigns to him the only record.

ART. VII.—ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑ Η ΕΝ ΤΑΥΡΟΙΣ.

EAENII. Textum emendavit et notulas subiecit Carolus Badham, A.M. Londini. MDCCCLII. 8vo.

WE have always regretted that the philological studies of our Universities should have swerved so widely from the old direction in which they were impelled by the great English scholars at the beginning of this century. Much progress has doubtless been made since that time in the study of things Greek and Roman—law, customs, arts, and domestic life: in a word, of everything belonging to either people, except their speech. Since the death of Dobree, it has been the growing fashion to consider the old languages as the shell, and the other antiquities as the kernel—as if language were not among the most characteristic properties by which a people can be distinguished. This fashion has told upon the text of classics; the efforts which were beginning to rescue them from the innumerable errors and absurdities gathered by continual transcription, came to a halt; nay, a curious reactionary ingenuity by and bye emerged which did battle in defence of every corruption—even the grossest. Thus, barbarous inflexions were explained to be forms adopted from the speech of the vulgar; intolerable constructions were accounted for by the writer's forgetting the commencement of his sentence while he was judging the end; words, used contrary to all propriety, were justified by a comparison with the vagueness of modern

modern language, or by an appeal to etymologies sometimes arbitrary, always inconclusive.

Lately the current of opinion has, we fear, been setting in against classical studies altogether. From a signal and grievous misconception as to the true source of recent mischiefs produced in one of our Universities, from which her supposed mathematical sister has been comparatively exempt, certain ominous challenges of the real use and effect of this same study of antiquity have been heard. The best answer that Oxford can make to such objections is, to revive that old textual philology—that classical scholarship, as Elmsley understood it; revive it, by making it an indispensable attainment—and, above all, promoting and encouraging conjectural criticism, by which alone it can be kept active and useful. We scruple not to declare that the decay of this branch of philology is chiefly to be deplored in our Universities, because in those bodies a pursuit of this kind is absolutely necessary to counteract the otherwise mischievous tendency of the studies distinctively academic. The over-refining ingenuity which dialectic and formal sciences are sure to produce, if cultivated to the exclusion of matters of fact, is no argument, most assuredly, against the cultivation of them within their proper limits; but that these limits are absolutely necessary was never more plainly shown than by the recent examples of dialectical acumen driving understandings pre-eminently endued with it into the most irrational bondage.

The only faculty that we can oppose to an over subtle intellect is common sense—and this common sense is in no study more imperiously demanded or more severely trained than in criticism. When a youth is set down to read, not the book, but the author—to learn what was his peculiar mode of thought as well as what the condition of the language was in his day; when, having acquired a certain tact in discerning his sentiment and style, he reapplies this knowledge to particular passages, and demands whether or not they are genuine or correct—common sense is the faculty which is called into play. His whole business is the weighing of evidence: the evidence for or against the author being himself in fault, if anything is found in his work that is obscure, or extravagant, or contradictory. And when, having duly allowed for bold strokes of diction, intentional vagueness, or natural mistakes, he still persists in condemning any phrase as impossible either in form or in sense; if by chance a careful consideration of what the author would naturally say under such or such circumstances *hints* to him some word or phrase, which when written down scarcely differs in outward shape from the object of his suspicions, the coincidence between what he would expect to read,
and

and what the letters before him suggest, amounts in many cases to such conclusive proof that it is impossible for moral certainty to advance further.

Mr. Badham's work is a professed endeavour to revive among us the now much-neglected art of emendation. It appears that he owes his convictions of the importance of this pursuit to Professor Cobet of Leyden. We remember to have seen an inaugural discourse of that scholar, which struck us as especially useful, because it contained the most brilliant examples of the very art which he desired to see once more based on the sure ground of palæography. Professor Cobet, having to illustrate the principle that there is a ground of certainty in conjecture, carefully abstained from any examples of uncertain guesses. We wish Mr. Badham, though, in dealing with a single author, he was more liable to the temptation of mixing certain and uncertain conjectures together, had scrupulously followed the pattern which was before him. But although he has not done this, he has shown how much may yet be done for the text of Euripides by careful and critical study. Rejoicing in a *début* of such promise, we propose to lay before our readers a few specimens of what seem to us corrections of the true sort.

In the early part of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Orestes and Pylades are introduced conferring together as to the possibility of penetrating the temple wherein is enshrined the statue of Artemis, which Orestes has been commanded by the oracle to take back with him into Greece. The difficulties which present themselves are thus set forth by Orestes:—

τί δ' ὠμῶμεν; ἀμφίβληστρα γὰρ τοίχων ὄρεῖς
ὑψηλά· ποτερά δ' ὠμάτων προσαμβάσεις
ἐκβησόμεσθα; πῶς ἂν οὖν μάθοιμεν ἂν;
ἢ χαλκότευκτα κληῖθρα λύσαντες μάχλοις
ᾧ οὐδ' ἐν ἴσμεν; ἢν δ' ἀνοίγοντες πύλας
ληφθῶμεν, εἰσβάσεις τε μηχανώμενοι,
θανούμεθ'.

96 &c.

We agree with the new editor in the necessity for adopting in the third of these lines the reading of one excellent codex ἀε' for the first εἰν— and also Reiske's correction λάθοιμεν. Instead of ᾧ οὐδ' ἐν ἴσμεν, which no commentator has ever been able to explain with the least approach to probability, Mr. Badham, happily, we think, gives us ᾧδ' οὐδ' ὄν ἔσιμεν. His reason for the alteration is, that there can be but two ways of entering the temple; both of which must be mentioned by Orestes in order that he may show the difficulties of the case. *How can we escape notice?* is the natural objection to climbing up and getting in between the triglyphs; but to what is the other remark an objection?

jection? *If we are found opening the gates, we shall be put to death.* This applies obviously to a proposal of entering the building in the usual way.

The same consideration of natural circumstances has enabled Mr. Badham to get rid of a most ridiculous interpolation of a passage in the speech of the messenger, where he is describing the attempted escape of Orestes and his companions:—

χ' ὅ μὲν τις εἰς θάλασσαν ὠρμήθη ποσὶν,
ἄλλοι δὲ πλεκτὰς ἐξανήκτον ἀγκύλας.—1874, 5.

The rushing into the sea, and the endeavour to cast nooses over the prominences of the ship, are the efforts of the barbarians desiring to secure the fugitive crew. No one, when once told of this, can doubt the truth of it; but it is not a little singular that in the Cambridge edition, and in that of Hermann, great pains are taken to show why *the crew of Orestes threw themselves out of the ship, or endeavoured to fasten it by nooses to the rock!*

We agree with the editor that the very troublesome line—

ἀ μναστενθεῖσ' ἐξ Ἑλλάνων.—200.

in the first choric part of the play ought not to be cancelled, but merely placed after the following line, so that it may be understood of Clytemnestra. We also are disposed to take *χλίσονα ὑτά* (140) as a genitive, and to change *μυριοτεύχοις* into *χοῦς*, not into *χεῖ*: but we do not accept either *στράτου* or *στρατίας* as the lost noun. In the description of the Fury (279)

ἡ δ' ἐκ χιτωνῶν πῦρ πνέουσα καὶ φόνον—

Mr. Badham's conjecture *χέλυνων* is ingenious enough, but, in our humble opinion, he had no business whatever to place it in the text; indeed, we should be very glad to know if there is any authority for *χέλυνας* in the plural, except that of Hesychius. Hermann's reading, which makes the Fury breathe fire from her jewel-boxes (for *χλιδῶν* must signify the place wherein *χλιδή* is put) seems even more absurd than *χιτωνῶν*. In the lines which follow (282, &c.):—

παρῆν δ' ὄρν
οὐ ταῦτ' ἀ μορφῆς σχήματ', ἀλλ' ἠλλάσσετο
φθογγὰς τε μόσχων, καὶ κυνῶν ὑλάγματ',
ἃ φασ' Ἑρινῶς ἔναι μιμήματα—

we cordially accept the simple emendation *ἄφασκ'*. On the other hand, the alteration in line 334 we reject as rash and unwarrantable; nothing appears to us more certain than Reiske's reading—

τὰ δ' ἐνθάδ' ἡμεῖς ὅσια φροντιούμεθα:—

the example of Sophocles is rarely sufficient to account for unusual inflexion of the middle voice in a word so middle in its signification

signification as *φρονσιζέειν*; but Mr. Badham atones for this fault by defending with spirit and success the lines immediately following against the attacks of the Cambridge editor.

The note on line 361 will, we think, convince any reader that ὃν μοι προσείπας πῶσιν is quite inadmissible; but it seems very doubtful whether of the two very similar corrections proposed by the editor he has not in *προτεινας* chosen the less probable. There appears to us to be no force in the objection that the other is unpoetical: on the contrary, it is by far the more figurative expression, and we, on the whole, take the liberty of believing that Euripides wrote—

ὃν μοι προσείπας πῶσιν, ἐν ἀρμάτων ὄχοις
εἰς αἱματηρὸν γάμον ἐπόρθησας δόλῳ.

We regret to observe that there has been no certain rule followed in assigning places to emendations, according to their probability. A more impartial and less arbitrary principle would have placed such a bare possibility as *δρέπουσ'* (437) in the margin or amongst the notes, and *ἄων* (461) in the text; in the former context we much like the reading *ὑμαίμοσιν ἐμβαίνει δόμοις*—but how is it to be reconciled with the antistrophic passage?

In verse 543, *ὡς οὐ καλὸν δίκαιον ἐξεπράξατο* seems to us a very happy emendation for *ὡς εὖ κακὸν δίκαιον ἐξεπράξατο*. In verse 564, on the contrary, the sense of Mr. Badham's *εὐνοῦν*—κ. τ. λ. is decidedly inferior to that of the ordinary text. The reflection which we naturally expect is, that agreement of plans and intentions secures common prosperity; the quotation therefore from the Phœnissæ does not bear upon the question, because there the other sentiment is more appropriate, namely, that discordancy of ideas is a fruitful source of strife. Still we do not pretend to justify γ' οὕτω, nor even γ' ᾧδε. Perhaps Euripides wrote τὸ δ' εὖ μάλιστα γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ. In line 750 we are much struck with the improvement introduced by reading—

τὸ σῶμι σώσας τοὺς λόγους σώσεις ὁμοῦ,

which last word is substituted for a languid and ungrammatical *ἐμοί*. The common text gives (878, 879)—

σophῶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ταῦτα μὴ κ' βάντας τύχης
καιρὸν λαβόντας ἡδονας ἀλλας λαβεῖν.

Here Mr. Badham happily reads *ἡδονῆς, ἀλλας*:—but we cannot approve his *μὴ μ' βάντας τυγχῇ*:—*μὴ κ' βάντας τύχης* ought to have been let alone;—‘deserting the vantage ground of fortune’ is surely a sense upon which no one need seek to improve. We agree with Mr. Badham in considering the word *ἀπόφθεγκτον*, line 922, as violating the analogy of

of the language, if understood as Hermann and others have explained it, *unaddressed*; but we observe that in a small appendix Mr. Badham has wished to cancel the conjecture ἀπρόσφθεγκτον, which was first suggested to him by Hermann, and he has rightly explained the passage by the well-known formula λέγουσ' Ἰάσον' ὡς κακίστος ᾔν' ἀνὴρ. Ἐτεκτῆναντό με ἀπρόφθεγκτον ὅπως γενίμην δίχα is simply 'they secretly contrived as to me that I should be made separate.'

The happiest of all the restorations in this play is certainly that in the scene between Thoas and Iphigenia, which students will, no doubt, remember as remarkable for the edifying variety in the order in which the lines follow each other. Mr. Badham, who seems to have a wholesome dread of transpositions, has restored the order of the MSS. and the sense of the passage (v. 1178, &c.) by a most easy and natural remedy:—

Ιφ. καὶ πόλει πέμψον τιν' ὅστις σημαίνει. Θο. ποίας τύχας;

Ιφ. ἐν δόμοις μέμνειν ἅπαντας. Θο. μὴ ξυναντῶσιν φύνη;

Ιφ. μυστὰ γὰρ τὰ τοιάδ' ἐστί. Θο. στείχε καὶ σήμαινέ σύ—

Ιφ. μηδέν' εἰς ὅψιν πελάζειν. Θο. εὖ γε κηδεύεις πόλιν.

Ιφ. καὶ φιλῶ γ' οὗς δεῖ μάλιστα. Θο. τοῦτ' ἔλεξας εἰς ἐμέ;

The reading of the Florentine MS. seems to be φίλων δ' οὐδείς. The first source of error, as we are informed in a note, was mistaking the sign of the circumflex accent for the straight line drawn above the preceding vowel which is the compendium of the letter ν. From the same cause πλεῖ was corrupted into πλεῖν, in *Helena*, 1667, until Professor Cobet pointed out the error.

Another specimen of gentle but effectual emendation is the more worth mentioning, because it shows how extremely scrupulous the collators of manuscripts ought to be in marking down even those varieties of reading which may at first sight appear nothing but useless blunders. In the *Helena*, at line 517, the Chorus gives an account of the success which has attended Helen in her endeavour to meet with Theonoe, and to ascertain from her the real condition of the absent Menelaus:—

ἤκουσα τῆς θεσπιωδοῦ κόρας,
ἃ χρήζουσ' ἐφάνη' ἦν τυράννοισ·
δόμοις.—κ. τ. λ.

Here the reading of the best MS. is ἐφάνην, which Mr. Badham has adopted and written thus ἐφάνη ν. Of the conjectures in the *Helena*, the happiest appear to us to be the following: 183, omit ἀνεβόασεν, and place a sign of hiatus after ἔλακεν; 277, ἀφ' οὗ for οδτος; 507, σχήσει for ἔχει; 688, τίς μοι for ὧμοι; 907, καίριως for μακαρίως; 1000, φανήσεται for φανήσομαι; 1279, ἐξέλου for ἐξελῶ; 1457, αὔρα for αὔραις.

A large proportion of the notes is taken up in exhibiting instances, many of them highly amusing, of palæographical confusions: among them the illustrations on the last Chorus of the *Helena*, of comperdia mistaken for complete words, and *vice versâ*, are the most interesting—and the restoration of a passage in Livy is so felicitous that we cannot forbear transcribing it:—

‘In Liv. l. 22, cap. 34, *Consulatum unum certe plebis Romanæ esse: populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei qui magis vere vincere quam diu imperare malit*. Verba sunt Ter. Varronis in Fabianam cunctationem acerbè concioantis. Nemo semel monitus dubitabit quin *mature legendum sit, quod in ma uere facile potuit corrumpi*.’

We now take our leave of this performance, and of the preface thereto, which contains many ingenuities of a like kind, with the expression of much satisfaction at the endeavour here manifested, and with the hope that, in any future attempts, the editor will remember that he is an *editor*, and not suffer himself, in a fit of hastiness, to become the most useless of all possible *authors*, by supplying from mere invention the gaps of an author whom it would be presumption to rival. From Aristophanes downwards Euripides has been the public butt and the private favourite of all philosophical minds. This is why so many more of his plays have reached us than of Æschylus or Sophocles: why he was, as well as is, so much oftener quoted—witness the number of his fragments which have been preserved. He is not to be compared with Æschylus for the sustained poetry of his diction; nor can he, as a dramatist, in the strictly technical sense of the word, compete with Sophocles—for action is not his forte. He who excelled in this, and had the skill to preserve an unity of plot through a curious complexity of details, was doubtless well appreciated by a refined auditory educated in austere principles of art; but Euripides addressed himself to a larger class; his aim was to teach the people, to educate them into a capacity for sentiment and reflection. Hence he must needs become less dramatic, and deal more with the feelings and thoughts of those whom he impersonates; and if sometimes we are offended by this licence pushed to an extreme, so that the poet himself obviously talks through his character, we may fairly plead for him that, in his desire to communicate his mind to even the meanest of his countrymen, he designedly set aside the rules of an art which he must have thoroughly understood. If his kings talk like beggars—or again his domestics utter thoughts worthy of philosophers—it is owing to the conviction which filled him that there is a common ground of humanity which brings men far closer in reality

reality than the accidental differences of life seem to indicate. Of course, the haters of popular education hated him as they hated Socrates—charged him with sophistry and impiety as recklessly as they had charged his great teacher; but neither the one nor the other is answerable for the spirit of speculation that was then extending through all classes, much less for the direction which it finally took; they could neither allay nor excite it: to give it wholesome tendencies, to make it subservient to moral good, was the honest endeavour of both. But to teach, whether children or people, you must begin by pleasing them; and that which pleaseth the multitude will be very different from that which is addressed to the more strictly schooled intellect. This accounts for all those peculiarities in Euripides which are commonly called marks of a degenerating drama; the too florid lyrical measures, the excessive variety of unconnected incident, the strangeness of the story, the bustle of the stage. A dramatist must write for an audience; but the only audience which he thought it worth his while to labour for was one which could be gained only by the condescension of his genius to their capacity; and were they not worth gaining? Could a man who felt conscious of possessing such an exquisite power of pathos help believing that it was a faculty most nobly employed in taming democratic fierceness? Assuredly, if any virtue can be instilled by education, it is that of humanity; most cruelty, especially of a mob or of children, is thoughtlessness, and in numberless cases nothing is needed for the removal of it but awakening gentler sympathies by skilful delineations of suffering. It is here that Euripides is strong, and it is here that he is nobly simple. Yet this great popular instructor passes with some for a caviller, this most tender-hearted poet for a woman-hater, this author of pure eloquence for a maker of phrases!

- ART. VIII.—1. *Horæ Liturgicæ*; containing—I. *Liturgical Discrepancy, its Extent, Evil, and Remedy, in two Letters to the Clergy of his Diocese.* II. *Liturgical Harmony, its Obligations, Means, and Security against Error, whether Popish or Puritanical*; in a Charge to Candidates for Holy Orders. By the Right Reverend Richard Mant, D.D., Lord Bishop of Down and Connor and Dromore. 1845.
2. *How shall we Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?* By James Craigie Robertson, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Curate of Boxley. 1843.
3. *Church Difficulties.* A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry

Archdeaconry of Middlesex, in May, 1851. By the Ven. John Sinclair, A.M., Archdeacon of Middlesex, and Vicar of Kensington. 1851.

4. *Lights on the Altar not in use by authority of Parliament in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward VI. ; with Remarks on Conformity.* By the Rev. S. L. Vogan, A.M., Prebendary of Wightring, and Vicar of Walburton-with-Yapton, Sussex. 1851.
5. *On the Use of Lights on the Communion Table in the Day-time.* By the Honourable and Reverend A. P. Perceval, B.C.L., of All Souls College, late Chaplain to the Queen. 1851.

THOSE of our readers who recollect the view which we took in May, 1843 (Q. R. vol. lxxii.) of the *Innovations* attempted of late years in the ritual of our Church by a class of the clergy commonly called Puseyites, will be prepared for, and, we trust, participate in, our satisfaction at the admonitory letter recently addressed by twenty-four English Prelates to the clergy of their dioceses. The intrinsic importance of that document—its, as we may say, *synodal* character—and its close connexion with subjects already so often discussed in our pages, induce us to place it *in extenso* at the beginning of this article:—

‘We, the undersigned Archbishops and Bishops of the Provinces of Canterbury and York, do most earnestly and affectionately commend the following Address to the serious consideration of the clergy of our respective Dioceses:—

J. B. (<i>Sumner</i>) CANTUAR.	G. (<i>Darys</i>) PETERBOROUGH.
T. (<i>Musgrave</i>) EBOR.	C. (<i>Thirlwall</i>) ST. DAVIDS.
C. J. (<i>Blomfield</i>) LONDON.	H. (<i>Pepys</i>) WORCESTER.
E. (<i>Multhby</i>) DUNELM.	A. T. (<i>Gilbert</i>) CICESTR.
C. R. (<i>Sumner</i>) WINTON.	J. (<i>Lonsdale</i>) LICHFIELD.
J. (<i>Kaye</i>) LINCOLN.	T. (<i>Turton</i>) ELY.
C. (<i>Bethell</i>) BANGOR.	S. (<i>Wilberforce</i>) OXON.
H. (<i>Percy</i>) CARLISLE.	T. V. (<i>Short</i>) ST. ASAPH.
G. (<i>Murray</i>) ROCHESTER.	J. (<i>Graham</i>) CHESTER.
J. H. (<i>Mork</i>) GLOUCESTER	S. (<i>Hinds</i>) NORWICH.
and BRISTOL.	A. (<i>Ollivant</i>) LLANDAFF.
C. T. (<i>Longley</i>) RYON.	Auckland (<i>Lord</i>) SODOR and
E. (<i>Denison</i>) SARUM.	MAN.

‘Beloved Brethren,—We have viewed with the deepest anxiety the troubles, suspicions, and discontents which have of late, in some parishes, accompanied the introduction of ritual observances exceeding those in common use amongst us.

‘We long indulged the hope that, under the influence of charity, forbearance, and a calm estimate of the small importance of such external forms, compared with the blessing of united action in the great spiritual

spiritual work which is before our Church, these heats and jealousies might by mutual concessions be allayed. But since the evil still exists, and in one most important feature has assumed a new and more dangerous character, we feel that it is our duty to try whether an earnest and united address on our part may tend, under the blessing of God, to promote the restoration of peace and harmony in the Church.

‘The principal point in dispute is this—whether, where the letter of the Rubric seems to warrant a measure of ritual observance, which yet, by long and possibly by unbroken practice, has not been carried out, the clergy are either in conscience required, or absolutely at liberty, to act each upon his own view of the letter of the precept rather than by the rule of common practice. Now, as to this question, we would urge upon you the following considerations:—First, that any change of usages with which the religious feelings of a congregation have become associated is in itself so likely to do harm that it is not to be introduced without the greatest caution; secondly, that, beyond this, any change which makes it difficult for the congregation at large to join in the service is still more to be avoided; thirdly, that any change which suggests the fear of still further alterations is most injurious; and, fourthly, that, according to the rule laid down in the Book of Common Prayer, where anything is doubted or diversely taken “concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in that book, the parties that so doubt, or diversely take anything, shall always resort to the Bishop of the diocese, who, by his discretion, shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary to anything contained in that book.”

‘The fair application of these principles would, we believe, solve most of the difficulties which have arisen. It would prevent all sudden and startling alterations, and it would facilitate the reception of any change which was really lawful and desirable. We would, therefore, first urge upon our Reverend brethren with affectionate earnestness the adoption of such a rule of conduct. We would beseech all who, whether by excess or defect, have broken in upon the uniformity and contributed to relax the authority of our ritual observances, to consider the importance of unity and order, and by common consent to avoid whatever might tend to violate them. In recommending this course as the best under present circumstances, we do not shut our eyes to the evil of even the appearance of any discrepancy existing between the written law and the practice of the Church. But there are many cases where the law may be variously interpreted; and we believe that we are best carrying out her own principles in urging you to have recourse in all such cases to the advice of her chief pastors.

‘But beyond mere attempts to restore an unusual strictness of ritual observance, we have to deal with a distinct and serious evil. A principle has of late been avowed and acted on, which, if admitted, would justify far greater and more uncertain changes. It is this—that as the Church of England is the ancient Catholic Church settled in this land before the Reformation, and was then reformed only by the casting away of certain strictly defined corruptions; therefore, whatever form

or usage existed in the Church before its reformation may now be freely introduced and observed, unless there can be alleged against it the distinct letter of some formal prohibition.

‘Now, against any such inference from the undoubted identity of the Church before and after the Reformation we feel bound to enter our clear and unhesitating protest. We believe that at the Reformation the English Church not only rejected certain corruptions, but also, without in any degree severing her connexion with the ancient Catholic Church, intended to establish one uniform ritual, according to which her public services should be conducted. But it is manifest that a licence such as is contended for is wholly incompatible with any uniformity of worship whatsoever, and at variance with the universal practice of the Catholic Church, which has never given to the officiating ministers of separate congregations any such large discretion in the selection of ritual observances.’

‘We, therefore, beseech any who may have proposed to themselves the restoration of what, under sanction of this principle, they deemed a lawful system, to consider the dangers which it involves; to see it in its true light, and to take a more just and sober view of the real position of our Church; whilst with equal earnestness we beseech others, who, either by intentional omission or by neglect and laxity, may have disturbed the uniformity and weakened the authority of our prescribed ritual, to strengthen the side of order by avoiding all unnecessary deviations from the Church’s rule.’

‘Such harmony of action we are persuaded would, under God’s blessing, go far towards restoring the peace of the Church. This happy result would more clearly exhibit her spiritual character. The mutual relations of her various members would be more distinctly perceived, and our lay brethren would more readily acknowledge the special trust committed to us as stewards of the mysteries of God “for the edifying of the body of Christ.” They would join with us in asserting, and, if need be, defending for themselves, as much as for us, the true spiritual freedom of the Church. They would unite with us in a more trustful spirit, and therefore with a more ready will, in enlarging her means and strengthening her powers for the great work she has to do amongst the swarming multitudes of our great towns at home and of our vast dominions abroad; and that Church, which has so long received from the hands of God such unequalled blessings, might continue to be, yea, and become more and more, “a praise in the earth.”’

‘*March 29, 1851.*’

To the spirit and principle of this paper we hope we shall not be thought presumptuous in offering our cordial assent. We subscribe to its doctrine; we admire its temper; and we anticipate for it the hearty concurrence of the vast majority of those to whom it is with so striking a combination of argument and authority addressed. But we hope also that we shall not be accused of an opposite kind of presumption and of being over-difficult to please, when we venture to point out two or three circumstances,

stances, as to which, though incidental and accessory only, and in nowise subtractive from the value of the document, it would be uncandid in us, and (as we think) unfair to the great cause we advocate, to suppress some expression of regret.

First, we believe everybody must lament that it has come at least ten years too late—come after matters had grown desperate with some, inveterate with others, uneasy and vexatious to all. And perhaps, in the *wording* of the preamble, it might have more exactly met the facts of the case as well as the views of the Prelates themselves, if the ‘anxiety’ expressed about the ‘troubles’ occasioned by resisting the Puseyite innovations had been directed more distinctly against the Innovations themselves. Nor should we have chosen such an occasion for treating the ‘external forms’ of the Church as in any view of ‘small importance.’ We are well aware that such words are merely conciliatory *forms* used in the conciliatory spirit of the whole document; and we notice them *as such*, that they may not be hereafter misconstrued as an admission that there was room for ‘*mutual concessions*’—an inference directly at variance with the main object of the Address which in fact concedes and compromises nothing; and which, with God’s blessing and a firm resolution on the part of the subscribing prelates to see it executed, will, we trust, leave nothing of this at once serious and silly schism, but clearer views of the true *principle* of ritual uniformity, and a sharper vigilance against the insidious arts with which Romanism so ingeniously contrived to mask its approaches.

A second regret arises at first sight from observing that the Irish branch of our United Church appears to be *absent* from this important and synodal movement; particularly as the work of Dr. Mant, late Bishop of Down, the title of which stands at the head of this paper, was the most direct and decided episcopal encouragement which the innovators had received. But the fact is that the Irish clergy have been, by their closer acquaintance with practical Popery, protected against the Puseyite infection. Even Bishop Mant’s book produced no ill effect but for one moment in one narrow neighbourhood; its general and permanent result was the very reverse of what the bishop intended. It was therefore thought inexpedient to embrace the clergy of the sister island in an admonition which was necessary ~~only~~ in the ‘*provinces of Canterbury and York*.’ It is satisfactory that this last phrase tacitly, at least, recognises the identity of the Church in England and Ireland; and we believe we may safely add that, if local circumstances had required it, the Irish bench would have given its unanimous assent to the Address. We the more gladly record this explanation, because we are convinced that

that any separation of the two branches of our Church would inevitably cause the early and total extinction of both—not, of course, as a form of Christianity—not as a spiritual Church; *as such* she will endure as long as human intelligence and society—but as an *Establishment*! If the Irish branch be rent away, the sister branch will die by the same wound—a ‘more lingering, perhaps, but an equally certain death. And let us add another solemn truth—the fate of the Church will be the fate of the countries! The Countries and their Church, their monarchy, their power, and their rank among nations, must stand or fall *together*!

The third topic is more grave—that the Address wants the concurrence of four English bishops, Dr. Bagot of Bath and Wells, Dr. Hampden of Hereford, Dr. Lee of Manchester, and Dr. Phillpotts of Exeter. The three former have not given, that we are aware of, any reason for their refusal. It has been suggested that Bishop Bagot’s state of health may account in some degree for his silence. Of the motives of Bishops Hampden and Lee we have heard nothing, and can only say that the general dissatisfaction at their original appointment will not, we fear, be diminished by this additional contrast to the majority of their colleagues. But the Bishop of Exeter has not been silent. That eminent prelate has in a recent Pastoral Letter announced very emphatically the reasons, or we might perhaps rather say the *reason*, for there seems to be practically but one, of his dissent:—namely, that it appeared to him ‘*little short of a mockery*’ to address the Clergy upon such ‘*small matters*,’ instead of remonstrating with the Crown on the great question involved in what for shortness we will call the Gorham Case; and his Lordship informs us that, instead of a measure so ‘*manifestly nugatory*,’ he proposed to his Right Reverend brethren an Address to the Queen to rescue the Church from a state of ‘*paralysis*’ by summoning the Convocation.

We need not, we hope, profess our affectionate reverence for the Bishop of Exeter. We do not doubt that in the Gorham Case his Lordship was entirely right in point of doctrine, and we cordially sympathise with his natural and reasonable feelings of dissatisfaction at the result, as well as at many of the incidents, of that vexatious affair: but serious as we may think the doctrinal importance of the Gorham Case, we cannot persuade ourselves that it is of so engrossing, so absorbing a nature, as to require or justify the suspension, much less the dereliction, of other, even though minor, considerations and duties. The evils in question are not *ejusdem generis*; heresy is one thing, ritual irregularity is another. Surely it can be no valid reason for not attempting to cure or to stay a lesser evil, that you cannot previously remove a greater

one of an altogether different character. Let us, for instance, adopt the Bishop's own metaphor, and suppose that a person afflicted with *paralysis* has had the additional misfortune of breaking one of his limbs; would you prevent the surgeon's setting it until a consultation of physicians should have cured him of the palsy? Nor can we admit that these Puseyite innovations are *small matters*, though they are, we confess, very silly ones. If they were merely *nugatory*, we might yet again answer, *hæ nugæ seriâ ducunt in mala*; but we have too respectful a remembrance of the Bishop of Exeter's former Charges to admit that, though there may be greater matters, *these* in their results and consequences are to be regarded as *small*. On the 19th of November, 1844, the Bishop addressed a '*Pastoral Letter to his Clergy on the OBSERVANCE OF THE RUBRIC*,' which commenced thus:—

'Reverend and dear Brethren,—I address you on a subject of *very deep interest* to us all—the diversity of practice in the worship of *Almighty God*, which, in concurrence with *other unhappy events*, has threatened to involve us in a state of painful, I had almost said *perilous* disunion.'

The Pastoral Letter proceeds to treat these subjects as involving the highest obligations of law and conscience; and it closes with a solemnity that would surely not have been employed on 'small nugatory matters':—

'I conclude with entreating you to join me in fervent prayer to Him *who is the Author of Peace and Lover of Concord*, that he will accept and bless this our humble endeavour to promote peace and concord amongst us within his own house and in his own immediate service.'

We confine ourselves in this to us particularly painful discussion to the reason given by the Bishop for his dissent; and however much we may regret the absence of a name so high in learning, talents, and piety, it is some satisfaction to find that the specified point of difference seems rather formal and occasional than substantial; and that it neither does nor could have been intended to invalidate the intrinsic value and transcendent authority of the Address of so large a majority of the prelates. Nor do we apprehend that the dioceses of the recusant bishops are likely to exhibit any unseemly discrepancy from the rest of England—even if they dissented from the substance of the document, which does not at all appear—for it must be recollected that they, bishops and dioceses, are still—to a degree sufficient, we believe, to ensure uniformity—under the, at least, appellate jurisdiction of the Metropolitan.

But there is still another topic of consolation to be found in these otherwise regrettable differences. They can hardly fail to afford a most salutary lesson to the Church, and a lesson the more

forcible from the circumstances in which and the person by whom it is conveyed. We have of late heard much, too much we think, of the legal authority and practical advantages of Convocations and Synods for quieting dissensions in the Church. The Bishop of Exeter, as we have just seen, considers them as not merely a sovereign, but the *only* specific remedy for such disorders. But does not this very occasion authorize us to ask what can be rationally expected from any such assemblies when we find that the result of friendly and confidential conferences of eight-and-twenty prelates, met in the library at Lambeth, in a common interest for a common purpose, with every incentive to conciliation and no disturbing causes, has been to widen the breach by the open secession of four important dioceses from the rest of England?

We are satisfied that the few thinking men who may have hitherto been inclined to adopt the idea that national synods and convocations would insure unity of either doctrine or discipline, will now be convinced that the Houses of Convocation—upper or lower—would probably have no great resemblance to the Temple of Concord.

While we regret that the declaration of our Prelates has been so long delayed, we admit that there were serious difficulties in the way of an earlier demonstration. What were the real feelings and intentions of certain members of the University of Oxford in originating what may be called the Tractarian movement, we are not called upon to conjecture; but we have repeatedly expressed, and still adhere to the conviction, that it was mainly supported from pure and pious motives. Undoubtedly, at all events, some of the most amiable and personally respectable, if not the most prudent and profound of the clerical order, soon joined zealously in what professed to be an endeavour to conduct the service of our Church on a higher principle of conformity and unity than had been, *it was said*, recently practised. The heads of the Church could not but approve such a spirit, and, as the innovations affected to be no more than a restoration of observances directly required by the *rubrics*, which, it was alleged, were (even though partially disused) irrevocably binding both in conscience and in law on the whole clergy, they were naturally reluctant to take any step that might ~~seem~~ to contravene the strict rubrical code. They may also have very naturally hoped that any excess of zeal in so right a direction would ere long correct itself: and to a certain degree this expectation was confirmed. A majority of the clergy and nearly all the laity speedily discovered—if indeed they had ever for a moment lost sight of—the important share that *usage* has always had in our Church services:—not a few even of those who had made them-
selves

selves prominent in the movement perceived in good time that they were getting out of their depth, and hastened to regain *terra firma*. But a large portion still held out; some neophytes (to say nothing of their first leaders) were already Papists at their hearts—yearning after an infallible guide; some were influenced by a kind of clerical *esprit de corps*; others by a variety of self-delusions more or less venial. One or two of the Bishops, in a well-intended but ill-judged attempt at conciliation, gave, as all half-measures and compromises with perverse antagonists are sure to do, consistency to what they meant to discourage, and discouraged what they would rather have supported. The innovators entrenched themselves behind what they called the *written law*, which they affected to regard as the *whole law*. It was not for the heads of the Church to impugn that authority; and *as yet* there was no tangible proof, though there were growing indications, that this over zeal for the rubrics was (with a considerable class) the *shibboleth* of Popery.* Many and ingenious were the ways in which the artful machinists worked. The chief demonstrations were made on points which, if not absolutely *small matters*, would have been in themselves of no serious importance,—but they became so when they were by and by recognized as the sign and symbol of a *Romanising party*.

All this anxiety, however, for the general authority of the rubrics was a mere deception—the rubrics generally had never been disputed, nor systematically nor wantonly departed from. The whole question in fact turned on *one single rubric*, viz., that in the Communion Service, which seemed—contrary to a general and immemorial usage—to require the use of the Offertory and of the Church-militant prayer, even when there was no Communion; and as this interpretation obliged the minister—instead of dismissing the congregation with a blessing from the pulpit—to return first to the vestry room again to resume his surplice, and again to the Communion-table for these supplemental services, it afforded an argument *ab inconvenienti* for the revival, or rather for the introduction of the practice that Laud had, in vain endeavoured to impose on the clergy two centuries before, of '*preaching in their whites*.' We do not believe that there was any particular interest felt about the Church-militant prayer—which

* Archdeacon Sinclair in his very sensible Charge recalls the important fact, often noticed by ourselves, that the earlier *Tracts* avowed the most uncompromising hostility to Popery. From No. III., for example, he quotes these words:—

'A union [with Rome] is impossible. Their communion is infected with heterodoxy. We are bound to flee from it as from a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God's truth, and by their claim of immutability in doctrine cannot undo the sin they have committed. They cannot repent. Popery must be destroyed. It cannot be reformed.'

however excellent in what the clergy and congregations had so long decided to be its *proper place*—seems superfluous when used as an *adjunct* to the ordinary Morning, Litany, and Altar services; but it was now contended for because it was the most prominent, if indeed not the only rubrical deviation that afforded a flag of distinction, and because the rubric that provided for it seemed also to include the ‘Offertory’ and the ‘*preaching in whites.*’

But though this was the first object, logic as well as party soon drove these ultra-rubricians—as we may well call them—to look out for other flaws and blots, and, finding nothing really worth quarrelling about, to ek out their system by inferential or imaginary rubrics for credence-tables—candlesticks—worshipping to the east—standing on the west* side of the table with their backs to the congregation—genufluxions, bowings, crossings, intoning, rood-screens, acolyths, and the like, for which there was not only not a shadow of rubrical countenance, but against which there was a combination of rubrical, canonical, historical, and legislative authority, confirmed, as far back as our evidence goes, by the uninterrupted practice and usage of the Church of England ever since the Reformation.

Neither the clergy nor public at large would tolerate these superstitious practices, and at length, finding that England was not to be Romanized either by false logic in interpreting the rubrics, or by the glare of Puseyite pomp and paraphernalia, all the most eminent and distinguished among the first practitioners and partizans of these innovations (except a very few who must forgive the world for suspecting that they prefer their emoluments to their theories), have thrown off the mask under which they had for a dozen years been endeavouring, and not without some success, to delude their brethren and their congregations, and have at last given us tardy evidence of sincerity by passing over into the Roman camp. We have not a reproachful word nor a derogatory thought* for those converts, *as such*. We respect their consciences, if not their understandings. We hope they may find comfort in the bosom of their new mother; and we are so far from regretting their secession on our own account that we congratulate the Church at being relieved from their ‘half-faced fellowship;’ and we trust that any, who still profess

* It was curious to observe that some Puseyites, who did not venture on this flagrant irregularity, but were still desirous of giving the table the character of an altar, used slyly to place themselves *just* at the *north-west* corner of the table, thus half complying with the Rubric, which enjoined the *north*, and half indulging their Romanising propensity for the *west*—like an obstinate child that, if forbidden to put its *hand* on a table, will out of perverseness put on its *finger*. We have seen this puerility actually practised and persisted in by several, and particularly by two leading persons, who have since openly gone over to Rome. We suspect that it was a kind of freemason’s sign amongst them.

our faith but think with them, may hasten to follow their example. Our only complaint is that they did not earlier relieve themselves and us from those embarrassments, and that they should have gone on—while this apostacy was smouldering in their hearts—*cineri doloso*,—enjoying the preferments and exercising the influence and authority of that Church whose destruction they meditated. For the *individuals*, it is a kind of apology, that such Jesuitical double dealing is one of the most remarkable characteristics of the accommodating faith they have embraced.

We are convinced that a number of those who take a lively interest in these questions—many even who have thought seriously, and some who have written largely upon them—are very imperfectly aware how little of our Church service is regulated by these rubrics, and how infinitely more by unwritten and traditional habits and customs. For this, among other reasons, we are induced to attempt a rather detailed examination of the general subject, which, although we and others before us have touched on particular points, has not, that we know of, been systematically treated. Whether we consider ourselves as addressing persons who conscientiously advocate a large revision and emendation of the rubrics—or those who hold the, as we trust, far more general opinion—namely, that of *the sufficiency of the present rubric taken in connexion with the ancient and general usage of our Church*—in either of these views, we think it an object of considerable importance and interest to show in what an unexpected number of cases the rubric neither affords, nor professes to afford, any direct instruction for our ritual guidance.—Such an attempt seems indeed to be the more called for at this moment, since we find, to our great regret, that some demur seems to be already made to the Address of the Prelates, as giving too much authority to Usage. Vague apprehensions are expressed at any supposed ‘departures from the Rubrics of the Prayer Book’—and we are asked ‘how can *custom* make a thing lawful, or absolve the conscience from a promise not to do it’ (*Vogan*, 74).

We purpose to answer all such questions by showing that if it was not by the help of *custom*—supplying the omissions, explaining the obscurities, and reconciling the inconsistency of the rubrics—it would be absolutely impossible to take *one single step* towards the performance of divine service. The rubrics are lights placed *here and there* for our general guidance, but they are not, as we shall, we believe, be able to prove, the active principle that enables us to walk.—We are as well aware as any one can be, to how little weight our opinion may be entitled, and how deficient we are in those higher requisites that create authority, but we think the facts which present themselves are so decisive, that
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even in our hands they cannot fail to establish the proposition which we have thus advanced.

We must begin by a short notice of the *Horæ Liturgicæ*, published some eight years since—a work of which we cannot approve either the object or the execution, and should, if the author were still living, have ventured to complain of *ad hominem*. As it is, we produce it merely as a piece of evidence in the discussion. Bishop Mant, a most respectable, learned, and amiable man, was over-persuaded (as we have heard) to adopt, contrary to the *practice of his own long and respectable ministry*, the Puseyite construction of the Church-militant rubric; and it was thought favourable to the cause of *Rubric versus Usage* to exhibit the monstrous extent and danger of diversity, in a catalogue of no less than *seventy* different modes of performing Divine Service—an indictment against the Clergy of seventy counts for neglect or disobedience of the Rubrics of the Church. If all or any serious number of these charges had been well founded, it is obvious that the right reverend critic himself, after an episcopate of five-and-twenty years, would have been the person really responsible for such irregularities. But it was not so. The Bishop of Down had not neglected his duties—his clergy were and are as orderly, and in every way as respectable, as any in the United Kingdom—the variations he was prompted to complain of were either accidental or trivial, or wholesome—and were, we believe, suggested by his officious advisers to the old bishop's censure only for the sake of the three great innovations about the surplice, the offertory, and the Church-militant prayer—to justify, by so large a catalogue of discrepancies, an attempt to enforce these points, by confounding them with sixty-seven others, most of them insignificant, and none of them important;—a device as ingenious, but not more successful, than that of Dean Swift's celebrated Irish footman, who thought he had performed a most dexterous exploit in passing off a clipped shilling in a handful of halfpence.

A few examples of the kind of difficulties conjured up for this occasion will justify both the levity and severity of our observation:—

‘ 1. In some Churches the service is commenced with a psalm, in others not.’—*Mant*, p. 11.

‘ And 10. When a psalm consists of an uneven number of verses, sometimes the minister reads [out of his *alternate* turn] the first verse of the *Gloria Patri*. Sometimes he leaves it to the people.’—p. 12.

13. Some ministers in giving out the lesson say “Here beginneth such a chapter of such a book;”—others *erroneously* say “The first (or second) lesson appointed for this morning’s (or evening’s) service is such a chapter of such a book.”—p. 13.

15. At the conclusion of every lesson, while one minister says "Here endeth," another will say "Thus endeth."—p. 14.

22. After the lessons some clergymen confine themselves *exclusively* to the *Te Deum* or the *Jubilate*;—others use occasionally the *Benedicite* or *Benedictus*.—p. 15.

26. Some give out the collect—saying the collect for such a Sunday; some read the collect without announcing it.—p. 16.

32. The prayer for the High Court of Parliament is read by some from the opening of the session to its prorogation; others disuse it during a recess or long adjournment.—p. 17.

Some of these, and of fifty or sixty similar questions, are no questions at all, being in fact left optional by the rubric; others are quite indifferent, some merely accidental, others we believe altogether fanciful, and none of the discrepancies of any real importance, or more than a word from the bishop or one of his archdeacons would have removed. A few of the items that affect more serious points we shall have occasion to notice as we proceed with our more detailed examination of the service. But the general effect of these captions complaints on our mind is only to prove the substantial uniformity in which the service has been conducted throughout both countries; and that 'there was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised' in which ingenious or litigious men might not find or make petty differences and distinctions. The whole system of the Puseyite nicety proceeds on the assumption that the Rubric is in itself a complete and perfect code, which not only does not require, but utterly rejects the aid and the authority of traditional Usage. This, however, everybody but the wilfully blind must see is a degree of perfection and infallibility which even the most carefully worded laws and statutes do not pretend to, and which courts of justice as well as common sense, and the *prefatory Rubric* of the book of *Common Prayer* itself admit to be unattainable in any human production. The Rubric itself makes no such exclusive pretensions. It distinctly recognises the existence and maintenance of *usages* which it does not specify; and there is not, we believe, one page of the liturgy in which the rubrics would be sufficient to guide public worship without the help and illustration of tradition and usage. Without that help the very first essential elements of divine service would be unsettled. For instance, the rubric determines neither the *time* nor the *place* of the service, nor the *person*, nor the *vestments* of the *minister*, nor a number of accessory but necessary items in the performance of the offices. By the light of rubrics alone the parson could not get into his surplice, nor into his reading-desk, nor into his pulpit, nor even determine the great Feasts of the year. If we were to ask for a rubric

rubric at every step, the minister would never get out of the vestry.

To begin with the beginning—the Calendar—and with the chief and cardinal point of the Calendar—Easter :—

‘EASTER-DAY (on which the rest depend) is always the first Sunday after the full moon which happens upon or next after the 21st day of March ; and if the full moon happens on a Sunday, Easter-day is the Sunday after.’—*Rubric to the Calendar.*

This is sufficiently clear—rather more so than directions about the use of the Church-militant prayer—or the *proclaiming* of psalms—it is a case on which no difficulty seems possible—it stands on the face of the Prayer Book not merely as a rubric of 1662, but as advisedly confirmed by the statute drawn up with so much consideration and care for the reformation of the Calendar and the alteration of the Style in 1751. What can be more explicit, more certain? Well, ’tis all a delusion! In the year 1845—as it was in the year 1818, and as it must be at other encyclical periods—the first full moon after the 21st of March fell on Sunday the 23rd, at 8 o’clock in the evening, and so clearly Easter-day should have been on Sunday the 30th of March—but no such thing ; a subsequent and unexplained line in one of the tables following the Calendar appoints Easter-day for the 23rd of March ;—and all the solemnities of Easter-day were completed and finished even *before* the change of the moon—the fundamental rule having carefully provided that they should not take place till *a week after* the change of the moon. We need not remind our readers that this discrepancy arises from the assumption in early times that a month consists exactly of twenty-eight days, and that therefore the *fourteenth day* of the moon must be the full moon—an error of a day and a half ;—and this *fourteenth day* having been Saturday, the 22nd, Easter was held, in defiance of law, nature, the general rubric, and even of St. Paul’s injunction—‘*Let no man judge you in respect of a new moon*’—on Sunday the 23rd, the real full moon happening only at 8 o’clock on the latter evening ;—the fact simply being that the rubrics (copied into the statute) confound the ecclesiastical, that is, an imaginary full moon with the real one. Thus then, *in limine*, we find that the clearest of rubrics, and the most solemnly sanctioned, gives way before a *practice* founded on considerations which the Rubric does not explain.*

Being thus condemned to keep all the moveable feasts of such years as 1818, 1845, &c., in defiance of the leading Rubric, let us proceed to Church ; but, even before we enter it, we are met

* A member of the University of Oxford published in 1818 a protest against the mis-observance of Easter.—See *Comp. to the Alm.* 1845, p. 34.

by a difficulty. The rubric prescribes, decidedly and repeatedly, a 'daily morning and a daily evening service throughout the year.' We all know how imperfectly that indisputable injunction is observed. The Bishop of London, in his Charge of 1842, which showed so much respect to some obsolete and ambiguous rubrics, was, we surmise in self-defence, obliged to suppose that 'the framers of this rubric never intended that it should be obeyed.' We expressed our opinion in March, 1843, that the framers of the rubric probably meant it to be effective, as it had no doubt been in old times; but we fully agreed that it had, by the change of circumstances, become, in a great majority of cases, morally and even physically impracticable; and we drew a conclusion, which we now repeat, that if the clearest and most important rubrics are thus set aside for extraneous considerations, it seems very inconsistent to be so zealous about other rubrics of certainly less value and importance. But even on the service days, before a word can be uttered, some serious—very serious—matters are to be settled.

The order for morning service is prefaced by this preparatory Rubric:—

'And here it is to be noted that such ornaments of the church, and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of King Edward VI.'

Our readers are aware that for the class of subjects we are now discussing this is the most important Rubric in the whole book. It is the sole rubrical authority for the decoration of our churches and the habits of our ministers, and by it must be determined the questions, lately grown so serious, of gowns and surplices, candlesticks, credence-tables, and so forth. Of course, then, we might naturally expect to find in the book itself some practical explanation of what is thus enjoined. We find none! Such of us as happen to have access to the statutes at large, refer to them for the alleged parliamentary authority—but, again, we find nothing like what we are in search of. The second year of King Edward VI. began on the 28th of January 1548, and ended on the 27th of January 1549. Now we assert that in that year there was no authority of Parliament on any such subject. In the first year of Edward VI. he had published certain Injunctions concerning those matters, and there then existed a statute, 31 Henry VIII., ch. 8, which enacted that 'Proclamations made by the King's Highness with the advice of his Honourable Council shall be obeyed and kept as though they were made by Act of Parliament;' but that act was repealed in the first of Edward VI., subsequent to the Injunctions, in these large words, 'all and every

every branch, article, and matter in the same statute mentioned or declared, shall be from henceforth repealed and utterly made void and of NONE EFFECT.' It cannot be rationally argued that the Injunctions thus repealed by Parliament in the first of Edward had the authority of Parliament in the second of Edward. If they continued in use at all it could only be by the King's prerogative authority, and not assuredly by what the Rubric requires, the authority of Parliament. Moreover, whatever pretence of royal authority they might have is utterly annihilated by subsequent Acts. The question, however, as to these Injunctions is of no importance, except as to the single point of the legality of the two lights on the altar, which they 'suffered to remain.' Mr. Robertson, of whose diligence and judgment we beg leave to repeat our former acknowledgment, shows that the Bishop of London's partial compliance with the restoration of 'candles, provided they were not to be lighted,' was a double mistake, for even during the short time that they were by law suffered to remain, it was as being 'on-light,' and not as what were satirically and truly called 'humina cæca.' Mr. Vogan and Mr. Perceval in their pamphlets examine more especially the mere law of the case; and all three decide the question against the candles, whether on-light or cæca, by a train of legal and historical argument which leaves no possible doubt upon the subject. If there could be any doubt on the point of law, the opinions of Mr. Vogan and Mr. Perceval would be in this matter entitled to peculiar weight, for Mr. Vogan is one who carries the authority of rubrics very high, and Mr. Perceval tells us that he himself had presented a pair of candlesticks for the Communion table of All Souls' College. This was because he thought them decent ornaments, knew them to be usual in colleges where they had been 'suffered to remain,' and did not like to see his own college deficient of them:—but when he subsequently found candlesticks introduced in parish churches, where they had never been before, symbolically and systematically, he began to inquire into the matter, and soon satisfied himself, and his arguments must, we think, satisfy any one, that the symbolism is childish, and the authority for it a pretence without a colour of legality or reason.

In truth this whole Rubric, literally read, is an egregious blunder. There was indeed a statute, not of the second year of Edward, but of what is legally called the second and third of Edward VI., and which was not to take full effect till Pentecost in the third year of the King, by which this question of ornaments and vestments was decided, not immediately nor specifically, but with reference to what a Liturgy then in preparation was to contain. This Liturgy, however, was not promulgated till near well
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on in the *third* year of Edward VI., and it is to the provisions of that Liturgy—which, be it observed, prohibited candlesticks altogether—legalised by anticipation by the act of Parliament of the *second and third* Edward VI., that the Rubric is supposed to refer as being *in use* in the ‘*second* year by authority of Parliament.’

But—this point being settled and the Rubric of the Liturgy of 1549—the *third* Edward VI.—being admitted to be what is referred to in the existing Rubric—we shall find our difficulties by no means removed; for when we inquire after the book so referred to, we learn that it is so rare as to be a typographical curiosity, found only in the choicest libraries—indeed, we might rather say *not* found, for it turns out that the Oxford University Press in 1838 and Mr. Keeling of Cambridge in 1842, purposing to give a *reprint* of this book, both published a wrong one, and Mr. Keeling has only just now, in a new edition, published the right one. Such has been the condition of this our great canon of ecclesiastical vestures and ornaments—and yet, by the help of usage, no inconvenience had for two centuries ensued.

At last, however, by these modern reprints, and reprints of reprints, we presume that we have now arrived at what we might naturally have expected to find in the place whence it now derives its authority—the Book of Common Prayer. At the end of King Edward's *first* book are these general directions, now admitted to be the existing rule:—

‘CERTAIN NOTES FOR THE MORE PLAIN EXPLICATION AND DECENT MINISTRATION OF THINGS CONTAINED IN THIS BOOK.

‘*In the saying of MATINS and EVENSONG, BAPTISING, and BURYING, the ministers in parish churches, and chapels annexed to the SAME, shall use a SURPLICE; and in all cathedral churches and colleges, archdeacons, deans, provosts, masters, prebendaries, and fellows, being graduates, may use in the CHOIR, besides their surplices, such HOODS as pertaineth to their several degrees; but in all other places any minister shall be at liberty to use a surplice or no. It is also seemly that graduates, when they preach, should use such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees.*’

So far regards the ordinary ministrations; but at the beginning of

‘THE HOLY COMMUNION, commonly called THE MASS,’ . . . we find these different and special directions:—

‘¶ Upon the day appointed for the ministration of the Holy Communion, the priest that shall execute the holy ministry shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that administration—that is to say, a white ALB, plain, with a VESTMENT or COPE; and where there be many priests or deacons, there shall so many be ready to help the priest

priest in the ministration as shall be required, and shall have upon them the vestures appointed for the ministry—that is to say, ALBS with TUNICLES.

‘¶ And whenever the BISHOP shall celebrate the Holy Communion in the Church, or execute *any other public ministration*, he shall have upon him, beside his ROCHET, a SURPLICE OF ALB, and a COPE OF VESTMENT, and also his PASTORAL STAFF in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain.’

These Rubrics, besides offering some discrepancies and obscurities in other details, would allow the minister in any but the specified services to ‘*use a surplice or no*,’ that is, ‘*or nothing*,’ at his pleasure, while it prescribes albs, copes, and tunicles to all ministers for the Communion, and rochets, albs, copes, and croziers to the Bishops on all occasions. We need not say into what total disuse these rubrics have fallen—yet they are, as far as we can discover, the only rubrical directions for the vesture of her ministers that the Church of England now possesses.

There followed, in King Edward’s first book, the following rubric applicable to the whole service:—

‘¶ *As touching kneeling, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast, and other gestures, they may be used or left, as every man’s devotion serveth, without blame.*’

This last rubric was repealed in King Edward’s second book, and not afterwards revived, as the two rubrics preceding were.

One of the reasons of this first book of King Edward’s being so rare, is, that it was in force but a short time. It was thought by the more zealous reformers to lean too much to popish views and practices, and accordingly another *Book of Common Prayer* was prepared, and in 1552 promulgated by the sanction of a fresh Act of Uniformity (the 5 and 6 Edward VI.), which is set forth at the commencement of the book, and which continues and applies to the new book all the ‘force and strength’ of the former Act (which, however, it does not set forth) but with one most important alteration in the point we are now discussing;—for it provides that

‘*the minister at the time of the Communion, and in all other times of his ministration, shall use neither ALB, VESTMENT, nor COPE; but being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a ROCHET; and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a SURPLICE only.*’

But this state of things was of still shorter legal duration than the former, for the next year brought the accession of Mary, whose first statute repealed both these Acts, and restored the ancient practice of the Mass. On the accession of Elizabeth (1559) she re-established, with trifling alterations, King Edward’s second book, and passed an Act of Uniformity of her own, which is still
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in force (1 Eliz.). This Act did not re-enact the 2 and 3 Edw. VI., nor indeed the 5 and 6 Edw. VI.; it simply repealed the statute of Mary which had repealed them; but it had an express provision which for our present object may be considered as a repeal of the 5 and 6 Edw. VI., and a *renewal* of the 2 Edw. VI.:—

‘§ 25. Be it enacted, that such ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, shall be retained and used as was (*sic*) in this Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI., until other order shall be thereon taken by the authority of the *Queen’s Majesty*, with the advice of her Commissioners appointed and authorized under the Great Seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the *Metropolitan of this Realm*.’

This clause appears to have been introduced into the Act not merely for re-establishing the ornaments and vesture—for the rubric in the book would have sufficed for that—but for the double purpose of promising an early modification of the Act’s provisions, and of indicating the authority by which such future changes might be made—not by Act of Parliament, still less by Convocation, but by authority of the Queen, with the advice of an Ecclesiastical Commission, or of the *Metropolitan*.

At all events, this clause annulled the rubric of King Edward’s second book (1552) for the exclusive use of the surplice, and restored, not all the rubrics of the first book (1549), but only those relating to the ornaments of the church and clergy, *surplices, albs, tunics, vestments, copes, and croziers*; and that seems to be the present state of the law—this Act of the 1st Eliz. having been confirmed by the 1st of James I., and ‘so far as relates to the Church, made perpetual by the 5th of Queen Anne, c. 5,’ and, being, in fact, the first Act of Uniformity that now stands in front of our prayer-books. How far all the injunctions issued under it (some of them apparently inconsistent) may be still in legal force, we do not inquire; but have we not good reason to ask those learned prelates who have shown so much conscientious zeal in endeavouring to enforce rubrics of much less importance, and of doubtful or at least questioned and impugned authority, how it is that they do not in their own persons practise, and in their dioceses enforce, this, other clear, indisputable rubric, which meets them at the very threshold of their cathedrals—which stares them in the face—*ad aperturam libri*—on opening the prayer-book—the very first instruction that the Law and the Church imperatively enjoin? And how will those of the clergy who feel or affect to feel themselves painfully constrained to a strict observance of the doubtful rubric about the church-militant prayer, or the misapplied rubric about *proclaiming* the psalm, or the imaginary rubric about *preaching in the surplice*—how, we say, do they reconcile to their scrupulous and timid consciences

sciences the utter neglect of this the first, and, as to forms, most important rubric of the whole system? We confidently assert that to this neither prelate nor parson can give any satisfactory answer, nor have they any defence whatsoever but that very *usage* which in other lighter cases they so absolutely repudiate. We are every day, and by every fresh consideration of the subject, more and more convinced that the bishops possess, in *strict law*, no power whatsoever to oblige their clergy to preach in the surplice—that it is a matter in which they happen to have no *legal* authority; but even if they had such a power, surely in decency and common sense they ought to abstain from enforcing upon others a strictness which they reject in their own persons. ‘I cannot listen,’ a parish-minister might say, ‘to your lordship’s directions to wear my surplice in the pulpit until I see the marks of your authority to issue them, in your *cope* and *pastoral staff*.’

While we are on the subject of ministerial attire, there is a circumstance which we cannot help bringing to the attention of the episcopal body as an intrusive innovation, now in rapid progress, which it is their clear right, and in strictness their duty, to suppress. We mean the practice which has *recently* become so general with the inferior clergy of wearing what they evidently consider an ornamental vesture, one unknown either to rubric or canon, called a *scarf*—that is, a length of black *silk* passed round the back of the neck and hanging down in front on both sides nearly to the instep. This ornament had been heretofore worn, as Mr. Palmer and Mr. Robertson—both very zealous for the scarf—admit, and as we well remember, only by bishops, ‘dignitaries, prebendaries, and chaplains. There is a letter in the ‘Spectator,’ No. 312, 27th February 1712, which proves that in that day the scarf was the distinctive mark of a chaplain, and that it was the custom of many a chaplain in the pulpit or bidding prayers to pray (sometimes too ostentatiously) for the patron or patroness ‘who had given him his *scarf*.’ We see in Wall’s *Life of Warton*, 1806, that ‘when Sir George Lyttelton was advanced to the peerage in 1756, one of his first acts was to *confer a scarf* on Doctor Warton.’ We read (Robertson, p. 80) of Lady Huntingdon’s ‘*bestowing her scarf*’ on one of her ministers; and we ourselves have known more than one instance in which peers’ chaplaincies were solicited by eminent clergymen for the avowed purpose of being entitled to wear the scarf. But it now seems to be worn by whoever pleases. Mr. Palmer admits that the origin of this ornament is obscure, and that the wearing of it even by the superior clergy is not warranted by our rubrics. Nor can Mr. Robertson advance any authority for it; but he finds in the times of Henry VIII., Mary, and Elizabeth frequent mention of

tippets,

*tippet*s, as a kind of ecclesiastical vesture; and in the canons of 1604 those tippets are allowed to be worn by the clergy in certain cases and under certain limitations. It seems very doubtful what those tippets were—from the canon it would seem that they were a kind of substitute for the academical *hood*. Mr. Robertson, with his usual diligence, has collected all that is known of the tippet, and would willingly conclude that it is the same thing that is now called the *scarf*. This, however, cannot be Mr. Palmer's opinion, for, strange to say, he does not mention the word *tippet*; nor, though he has hunted up with some pains the Latin and Greek names of his *scarf*—*stola*—*orarium*—*ἀραρίον*—*ἐπιτραχήλιον*—does he notice the Latin names given to the *tippet* by our divines, viz., *epitogia* and *liripipium*. We do not think that Mr. Robertson has at all established the identity of the *scarf* and the *tippet*; on the contrary, we are satisfied, from the use of the latter word in statutes and canons, as well as from Ducange's and other explanations, that the *tippet* must have been some kind of covering resembling the *hood*, and not at all like the ornamental *scarf*. But still more widely do we differ from Mr. Robertson in his opinion as to the legality of its being *universally* used:—

‘It is,’ he says, ‘commonly worn with the surplice and hood by *doctors*, *dignitaries*, and *chaplains*; but if the clergy generally should feel disposed to adopt it, I suppose that we may be all justified in wearing it without further order, and even that it may be *assumed* without raising any great outcry in any quarter.’—*How to Conform*, p. 80.

This broad assertion that the clergy in general have a right to *assume* a sacerdotal ornament hitherto limited to particular classes, and that so strange an assumption would create no dissatisfaction, is quite at variance with the usually prudent and judicious spirit of Mr. Robertson's work, and seems to have no foundation whatsoever, nor any other pretence than a mistake—very unlike Mr. Robertson—of an act 24 Henry VIII.—one of those general *sumptuary laws* which our ancestors used to pass from time to time, and *not* for the regulation of ecclesiastical dress in the ministration of Divine service. But even if it had been so, it was superseded by all the Acts of Uniformity from Edward VI. downward—and finally—which, indeed, we might have as well mentioned first—it was expressly repealed, with a crowd of other absurd and obsolete statutes, by the 1st of James I.

We could pursue Mr. Robertson's *liripipian* fancies into some very ludicrous results, but we restrain ourselves to the expression of a clear opinion that the clergy ‘*in general*’ have no more right to scarfs (even if they be tippets) than they have to lawn sleeves or mitres, and, we need hardly add, that the ‘*assumption*’ has an appearance of vanity and dandyism, derogatory (as all but themselves must feel) from their personal dignity.

Our

Our readers now see that, however simple the *practice* of the ministerial vesture may appear, the theory of it is rather intricate; but let us at length suppose that the minister is *duly* attired; the next question is *when* Divine Service is to begin. The Rubric says nothing of *hours*. The Church of Rome had—in imitation of the Jews, but with reference to the events of our Saviour's passion—introduced so many prayers and ceremonies about and for particular *hours*—(her prayer-books are popularly called '*Horæ, Heures, Oras*')—that the Reformers seem to have been unwilling to give any direction about time; and here accordingly our Rubrics entirely fail us. All that is specified is, that there shall be *morning and evening service daily throughout the year*; and *usage* has established (not without some diversity of opinion) that *any time* before noon shall be 'morning, and *any time* after noon shall be evening. On week days the morning generally means six, seven, eight, or nine o'clock; on Sundays and holy-days ten, eleven, or even on the verge of twelve. The evening service is usually about 3 P.M. We sometimes (in town parishes) find about this hour what is called an *afternoon* service (though no service is appointed *eo nomine*, and it is the *evening* service which is, in fact, performed)—but in this latter case a proper *evening* service is frequently given about six or seven. The only restriction on the minister's discretion, and the only guide to the people in this matter, seems to be the prefatory rubric which prescribes that before the daily service the Curate shall 'cause a bell to be tolled that the people may come and pray with him.' The 15th canon, indeed, further requires that on the Wednesdays and Fridays, when the Litany is to be said, the minister '*shall give warning to the people by tolling a bell*'—and hence another difficulty. Surely it could not have been intended that on Wednesdays and Fridays a bell should be again tolled between the Morning Prayer and the Litany. The canon no doubt meant that the tolling for the Litany should be when it was separately performed; but the directions are general and imperative. By the help of *usage*, however, all these difficulties disappear, and the latitude as to hours produces little diversity and no inconvenience—except indeed that in the *afternoon*, or early evening service, the typical collect of *Lighten our darkness* is not altogether so appropriate when pronounced in broad sunshine, which its framers certainly never intended it to be. In some populous parishes, where there is not room for the whole congregation at once, the zeal of the clergy has of late introduced two or more morning as well as evening services; and for this—on *Sundays* and *holy days* and their *eves*—there is, subject to the approbation of the bishop, canonical authority. We so interpret the words of the 14th canon which provide that on *Sundays, holy days, and their eves, Common Prayer shall*

shall be said at such convenient and usual times of those days, and in such place of every church, as the bishop shall think meet, for [on account of] the largeness or straitness of the same. If this was not meant to allow a plurality of services, we do not see what it could mean. In King Edward's first book there are special directions, Collects, Epistles, Gospels, &c., for a first and a second communion on Christmas-Day and Easter Sunday—as had been the practice in the Unreformed Church. The double communion was expunged from King Edward's second book as too popish, but it was probably with an eye to this practice, that, on the reformist grounds of public convenience and accommodation, the power was given to the bishop of ordering double services. But this creation of a special authority in the bishop for Sundays and holy days seems to presume that on week days there is no such power; and it recognises the predominant authority of *usage* by providing that even the bishops cannot vary from *usual times*. Archbishop Laud himself expressly says there is no authority as to hours except *usage*, but that the morning service should always *end* before noon—which he it observed on Sundays and holy days it *now never does*. Thus then again, in this important matter, the rubrics are silent, and the commentators vague and discordant, and yet a general uniformity had been preserved by the unwritten usages of the Church and the enlightened discretion of its ministers.

The *when* being thus—but only by *Usage*—disposed of, we next arrive at the *where*. In what part of the Church is the minister to take his place? At the reading desk to be sure. Not quite so sure—for some of the Puseyite clergy have abolished the reading desk altogether. But independently of this very recent scandal, which (if continued) the respective bishops ought immediately to inquire after and correct, the proper place of the ministration of the ordinary service would be—if we were to reject *usage* and stand exclusively upon *rubrics*—by no means clear. The existing rubric, first promulgated in Queen Elizabeth's book, runs thus:—

‘¶ *The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel, except it shall be otherwise determined by the ordinary of the place. And the chauncels shall remain as they have done in times past.*

If this rubric were now first promulgated, the *accustomed place* would in most churches admit of no question; but at the time it was enacted that was a matter of great doubt and contention. Under King Edward's first book, as in all former times, the *whole service* was performed in the *choir or chancel*. But at this the

reforming spirit soon took offence, as a Popish exclusion of the people from *common prayer*, and there was even a talk of forcibly pulling down the chancels. This agitation produced in Edward's second book the following amended rubric :—

‘¶ *The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such places of the church, chapel, or chancel, and the minister shall so turn himself, as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversy, the matter shall be referred to the ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place : and the chancels shall remain as they have done in time past.*’

The closing words, which, though the occasion for them has so long gone by, still appear in our rubric, refer to the design of destroying the chancels, and mean nothing but the preservation of the *edifices*. The former portion undoubtedly led in many if not most churches to the establishment of ‘*reading-pews*,’ or desks, in the body of the church; and it appears from the Rubric for the Communion, then introduced and still existing, that, were Rubric to be our sole guide, the communion service should uniformly at this day be performed at the same place :—

‘¶ *The table, having at the communion time a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel, where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said.*’

Let us now see what is to be understood in the Elizabethan rubric, above quoted, by ‘*accustomed place*.’ Wheatley, who had a great leaning to forms and ceremonies—of whom, be it said, once for all, that his zeal, diligence, and learning are very much superior to his logic, judgment, or good sense—Wheatley, we say, thinks decidedly that the *choir* was meant :—according to him, the short interval in which Edward's *second* book was in force before Queen Mary re-established the Mass, not having been enough to constitute a *custom*, it must follow that the place provided in Edward's *first* book, and which had been in Mary's and all antecedent time the *accustomed* place, to wit, the *choir*, was intended. We cannot admit the soundness of this opinion, for the Act of Elizabeth revived the Act of the 5th and 6th of Edward, which had changed the *place* of performing the service, and only re-enacted so much of that of the 2nd and 3rd of Edward—that is, his *first* book—as related to *ornaments*; all the rest stood repealed. But this matter is not of much importance now-a-days; for Wheatley admits that the bishops began immediately to sanction reading-pews in the body of the church; and they were expressly established by the canons of 1604, and are now, beyond all question (unless there be in obscure corners of the country some few exceptional cases where no change was originally

ginally made), the *accustomed places*. We trust the bishops will take care that the recent Puseyite abuses of some chancels more within view shall not make *them* the *accustomed places*.

The Communion rubric, however, cannot be so easily disposed of. This rubric is a literal repetition of the *last* rubric of Edward, directing that the Lord's table should stand in the *body of the church* or in the chancel *where morning and evening prayer are appointed to be said*. This, as we have already remarked, seems to determine that all those services shall be said in the same place;—in other words, that where morning and evening service are performed in the body of the church, *there* also the table shall stand when the Communion office is performed. This seems to be the rational interpretation of the intention of Edward's advisers, and is the grammatical construction of the words; it is, moreover, authoritatively corroborated by the 82nd Canon (the same that orders the reading-pew), which expressly provides that the table shall be not only moveable, but actually moved for the administration of the Communion:—

'We appoint that the same [Communion] tables shall be covered in time of Divine Service with a carpet of silk or other decent stuff, and with a fair linen cloth at the time of ministration, as becometh that table; and so stand—*saving when the said Holy Communion is to be administered: at which time the same shall be so placed in so good sort within the church or chancel, as thereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number may communicate with the said minister.*'—82nd Canon.

God forbid that we should ever see this kind of ambulatory table, or any such irreverent and offensive innovation on the practice of two centuries; but is it not one which would be, under the letter of rubrical law, quite as defensible as many of the Puseyite innovations which have forced themselves on general notice? Mr. Robertson may well suggest

'that if we provoke puritanically-disposed churchmen by introducing unauthorized and unfamiliar ornaments and ceremonies about our altars, they may be able to give us considerable trouble by a reference to the authorities for the position of the table at times of Communion.'—*How to Conform*, p. 9.

What safeguard, indeed, have we against such an application and execution of the rubric and canon but *usage*, which, in this case, as in so many others, stands as a barrier of common sense and public opinion between antagonist Puseyite and anti-Puseyite innovations and pedantry.

We learn from an article in the 'Ecclesiologist' for the present month (June, 1851), that this 82nd canon has recently given rise

to an unexpected and, as we think, heedlessly provoked controversy between the minister of St. Philip's Church at Birmingham and some of his parishioners. The minister—a zealous, able, and, we believe, popular parish priest—(not at all addicted, it is stated, to Puseyism)—had, it seems, furnished his communion table with a covering of crimson velvet, with the letters I.H.S. and a cross embroidered in gold on the centre. Such embroidery the original framers of the canon might not have meant to sanction; but these ornamental covers have become so common, we may say so general, that they almost amount to a usage, and at all events may fairly be defended under the epithet *decent*—that is, a *becoming ornament*, to which no bishop would refuse his sanction; and it would not, we dare say, have been objected to by any one, if not followed by another and more unusual circumstance. This minister, at the communion, covered not the table, as the rubric requires, but—the mere *surface* of the table with a *fair linen cloth*—leaving the embroidered front of the carpet glaringly conspicuous; and Against this novelty (which we have never seen, nor heard of anywhere else) the parishioners complained to the ordinary, the Bishop of Worcester. With all respect for the Bishop of Worcester, we regret to be obliged to say that we think he came on this point to a most erroneous conclusion. He approves the proceeding of the minister, because, he says, -

‘When the Canon directs that the table be *covered* with a fair linen cloth during the administration of the Sacrament, it is not meant that the *legs* of such table should be all covered by the said cloth, but that the *top* on which the elements are placed should be so covered!’

His Lordship seems to have overlooked that the word ‘*covered*’ in the English Canon applies *equally* to the *decent carpet* for ordinary service and to the *fair linen cloth* for the communion; and that the table is to be *covered* in one case by the *cloth* in the *same* sense and to the *same degree* as in the other by the *carpet*. Two different interpretations cannot be given to the single word; and if the *carpet* is to conceal the *legs* of the table, it is plain, both in grammar and common sense, that the *linen cloth must cover both them and it*. The meaning seems to us so clear, that it is like supererogation to add that the word which in the translation of the canon is rendered *covered*, is, as to the Communion linen cloth, in the original Latin, *restiantur* == *clothed*:—a word of more significance, and not liable to the narrowed construction now given to *covered*—a man with his hat on might possibly be said to be *covered*, but, while his legs and body were naked, he could not be said to be *clothed*. Neither the minister nor the Bishop can be suspected of Puseyism, but we must be permitted to regret—and
more

more especially in such times as those, and just after his Lordship had signed the Address against Innovations—that so entire a novelty should be introduced for no object, that we can see, but its quaintness, and no excuse but an obvious misreading of the 82nd canon.

We have at length, by the help of *Usage* and in spite of the uncertainties and contradictions of Rubrics and Canons—which are really ‘harder and more intricate’ than ‘the Pic’—placed the Lord’s table in the choir or chancel, and the minister, duly attired in surplice and hood, in his reading-pew; and the order of the Morning Service is about to begin—when the Bishop of Down once more interposes. He complains that in some churches the service opens with a psalm—a practice which he pronounces unauthorised, and accordingly prohibits—as did the Bishop of London. For this interdiction neither prelate seems to have assigned any reason—unless it be Bishop Mant’s objection to the metrical psalms in general, that they are not authorised by the rubric; for that, ‘when the rubric was framed, *metrical versions of the psalms were not in existence*’ (p. 49). It was a strange lapse of memory in the editor of the Prayer-Book to forget that Sternhold and Hopkins’ version was annexed to King Edward’s Prayer-Book in 1559, and with this special prologue:—

‘Set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches, of all people together, *before* and after *Morning* and Evening Prayer, and before and after Sermon.’

This is, no doubt, only an *allowance*—and the matter is left properly to the discretion of the minister. In a scattered country parish the Psalm at opening may sometimes afford a convenient addition to the time for the assembling the congregation; and we cannot, in the face of the prologue above quoted, hold it to be *prohibited* because it is not *enjoined* by the rubric.

This obstacle being disposed of, the morning service is ordered to proceed thus:—

‘*At the beginning of Morning Prayer the minister shall read with a loud voice some one or more of these Sentences of the Scriptures that follow, and then he shall say that which is written after the said Sentences.*’

But here again, before a word can be uttered, we meet a grave difficulty. The minister is directed to read certain sentences, but it is not stated in what *posture* either he or the people shall be at the reading of these sentences. The *usage* is to stand; but usage, we are told, is nothing. The original rule, when the three services—now melted into one—were distinct and comparatively

paratively short, was, we believe, that all should *stand* throughout the whole service *when not kneeling*. That, however, in the present combined services would be impossible, and sitting during certain parts has been tacitly permitted ever since the union of the services. What then is there to forbid our sitting at the Sentences as we do at other parts of the service that are *read* to us? It may be inferred from the next rubric, which directs that 'all shall *kneel*,' that they were not to kneel in the first instance—but that is only an inference; and, at all events, does not forbid the sitting posture. Standing, kneeling, and sitting, being thus compatible with the rubric, what is there but unwritten *usage* to prevent a most indecent diversity in the very first step of the holy office? Of postures in a subsequent part of the service we shall treat hereafter.

But we have not yet done with this prefatory rubric. It is ordered that 'the minister shall *read* the sentences and then *say* what follows'—i. e. the *Exhortation*. This, we are told by Bishop Mant—

'some ministers *read*, as in other parts of the service; others use a modulation of voice called *intoning*, approaching to singing or chanting.'

The Bishop decided very properly against *intoning* the Exhortation, but he left it to be inferred that all the rest of the service might be intoned. Let us, however, ask, can any man point out the slightest existing rubrical authority for intonation anywhere? *Saying* is, throughout all the services, contradistinguished from *singing*; the same things may be 'said or sung;' but, if *sung*, are not *said*—if *said*, are not *sung*. So far is *saying* from being a nearer approach to singing than *reading*, that in the rubrics of King Edward, Queen Elizabeth, and King James, it is ordered as to '*reading* the lessons' that,

'to the end that the people may better hear, in such places as they do sing, there shall the lessons be sung in a plain tune,* and likewise the Epistle and Gospel!'

But even then there is no hint of *intoning* the prayers; on the contrary, the singing is confined to places 'where they sing' and to parts of the service which laymen can perform. But there is a natural and even elegant distinction between *read* and *say*, which must satisfy any man of taste and sense that *saying* was the fit expression here. The *Sentences*, like other portions of the Scriptures, are *read*—one or more—by way of preface, and while the congregation may be supposed to be settling themselves in their

* Not what would now be understood by the words 'a plain tune,' but the kind of level chant on two or three notes, called in Latin *plarus cantus*, and by the French '*plain-chant*.'

places ; but the Exhortation is *said*—because, though the book be open before the minister, his memory needs little help from it—and his eye, his voice, and his gesture are directed towards the people—and he *says*, with a kind of personal earnestness, that which would appear cold and comfortless if merely *read*.

The next Rubric furnishes the Bishop of Down with another difficulty, which shows the insufficiency of the rubrics to prevent doubts and discrepancies.

‘¶ *A general confession to be said of the whole congregation after the Minister, all kneeling.*’

The Bishop says—

‘Some congregations follow the minister immediately through each successive clause ; others taking up each clause and repeating it apart from him.’

That is, in some cases the minister and the people *with* him go on continuously, and almost simultaneously ; in others, the minister pauses at the end of each clause till the people have repeated it after him. The Bishop decides for the simultaneous mode, erroneously, we think—and against the Rubric. The Rubric says the people shall say ‘*after* the minister’—not ‘*with* the minister.’ If we are to split hairs, let us do it neatly ; the rubric appears to make a distinction—not very broad, indeed, but still intelligible—between ‘*after* the minister’ and ‘*with* the minister.’ It states that the *Lord’s Prayer* shall always be said by the people ‘*with* the minister,’ and ‘the *Cred*’ by the minister *and* people—that is to say, *simultaneously*—because the people are expected to have the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed by heart, and can therefore follow him *immediately* ;—but they are told to say ‘*after* the minister’ the Confession and a somewhat similar exercise in the Communion Service, neither of which they can be supposed to be able to say quite simultaneously *with*, but only *after* him.

The next Rubric is that before the Absolution :—

‘¶ *The absolution or remission of sins to be pronounced by the Priest alone standing, the People still kneeling.*’

This involves more than one important question. That the title *Priest* is here *advisedly* employed to exclude *Deacons* from pronouncing the Absolution is a common, but, we believe, an erroneous opinion. It contributes, however, more than one item to Dr. Mant’s catalogue :—

‘§ 5. When the officiating Minister is a Deacon, a Priest, being present, sometimes reads the Absolution. Sometimes it is omitted altogether. If a Priest be not present, the Deacon sometimes passes at once from the Confession to the Lord’s Prayer—sometimes he inserts a Collect.’

The Bishop decides, agreeably to the general opinion, that—

‘When

'When a Deacon officiates, a Priest, if there be one present, should pronounce the Abolution: if no Priest be present, the Deacon should pass on to the Lord's Prayer.'—*Hor. Lit.* 43.

He adds, against the usage, 'without inserting a Collect.' But we must be allowed to express our strong doubt as to the principle on which the whole question rests, and to which the Bishop does not allude—but seems to take for granted—that a Deacon is entitled to perform all the daily and communion services except this Abolution, and the Consecration Prayer. We confess that we cannot discover on what *rubrical* or *canonical* foundation this opinion rests—though undoubtedly it is a very general one, and has the sanction of a very long usage. It is, indeed, not merely countenanced, but asserted by an authority *ex facie* ancient and venerable—namely, that of the *Answers of the Bishops* in the Savoy Conference, 1661. At that Conference the Nonconformist Commissioners proposed (*inter multa alia*) that the term *Minister* should be adopted throughout the Liturgy—but the Bishops are alleged to have replied—

'It is not reasonable— for since some parts of the Liturgy may be performed by a *deacon*—others, by none under the order of a *priest*, viz. Abolution, and Consecration, it is fit that some such word as *priest* should be used for those offices, and not *minister*, which signifies at large every body that ministers in the Holy Office, of whatsoever order he may be.'—*Cardwell's Conferences*, p. 342.

There seem to us so many errors both of fact and reasoning in this reply, that we can only account for them by what Dr. Cardwell states—that we have not these 'Answers' in their authentic form, and that the copy we possess has been compiled in fragments extracted from the rejoinder of the Nonconformists (*Card.* 262), who themselves complained that it was '*surreptitiously and falsely printed*.' (*Baxter's Life*, *ib.*) We therefore feel ourselves justified in doubting its accuracy.

First. Let us observe that the very letter of the Abolution itself referred to in the alleged Reply states that '*God had given power and commandment to his MINISTERS to declare and pronounce to his people, &c.*' Secondly, Is it not most strange that—at the very time that the foregoing reason was assigned against the use of the term *Minister*—the existing Prayer-Book (as well as all former books) did actually assign the *Abolution* to the MINISTER *eo nomine*—the change to *Priest* being made in the Revision subsequent to the Conferences? Thirdly, We find the terms *Priest* and *Minister* used throughout the service indiscriminately, and where there is no distinction of persons, character, or duty, either intended or possible. See for instance the very next rubric to that of the Abolution:—

: The

‘ *The MINISTER shall kneel and say, the Lord’s Prayer—*

‘ *Our Father, &c.*

‘ *Then likewise shall He say—*

‘ *O Lord, open thou our lips.*

‘ *Answer.* And our mouth shall show forth thy praise.

‘ *PRIEST.* O Lord, make speed to save us, &c.’

Thus he says the first suffrage *as Minister* and the second *as Priest*. Then again, just after—

‘ *The MINISTER, Clerks, and People shall say the Lord’s Prayer—*

‘ *Our Father, &c.*

‘ *Then the PRIEST, standing up, shall say—*

‘ *O Lord, show thy mercy, &c.*’

And this is not mere accident—(if it were possible to imagine *accident* in such grave and keenly disputed matters)—for it runs with the same systematic irregularity, if we may couple the terms, throughout Morning and Evening services and in all the editions of the Prayer-Book. In the Communion Service the confusion of the terms is, if possible, more remarkable—and if the principle of the so-called Savoy Answers were admitted, incomprehensible. In the prelatory and post-communion rubrics we find mention of Minister, Priest, and Curate, but the latter term is used in the proper and distinctive meaning of *curator*, or person having *cure of souls* and ecclesiastical responsibility in the parish; and accordingly, to the *Curate*, so styled, all the matters of *discipline and business* antecedent to, or consequent on, the Holy Offices are committed; but those who perform the actual rite and administer the sacrament are denominated—we must not presume to say capriciously, but to our understanding indiscriminately—*Priest* and *Minister*. For example—

‘ ¶ *Then shall the PRIEST, turning to the People, rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commandments, as followeth:—*

‘ *MINISTER* God spake these words and said, &c. &c.’

Again, the *Priest* is to read the Collect, and the *Priest* is to say the Offertory, and the *Priest* is to say the Church-militant Prayer—all which *Deacons* do not hesitate to do—but we have never known them go farther; though the supposed Answer of the Bishops would seem to restrict them from the *Consecration Prayer* alone.

And, again—the ‘Answer’ states that the term *Minister* necessarily includes *Deacons*. This is directly contrary to the 32nd Canon, which says—

‘ The office of *Deacon* being a step or degree *to* [not *of*, but *to*] the *ministry*, no Bishop shall make any person a Deacon and a Minister both together one day, &c.’

But in fact, throughout the Canons, *passim*, the words *Priest* and *Minister*

Minister are convertible terms, and both used in clear contradistinction to *Deacon*.

In conclusion, we can allow but little intrinsic weight to this unauthenticated Answer—the only circumstance in its favour being the subsequent adoption of the term *Priest* in the Absolution rubric—and even that might be otherwise accounted for.* But the most important and cardinal point of the case is the exact statement of the Deacon's duties detailed in his Ordination 'service:—

'It appertaineth to the office of *Deacon* in the Church where he shall be appointed to serve, to *assist* the *Priest* in Divine service, and especially when he ministers the Holy Communion, and to *help* him in the distribution thereof, and to *read* Holy Scriptures and homilies in the Church, and to *instruct* youth in the Catechism. In the absence of the *Priest* to baptize infants, and to preach if he be admitted thereto by the bishop, &c.'

Then follow some directions about visiting and distributing alms to the poor, and so forth; and the *formula* of Ordination pronounced by the Bishop is equally limited:—

'Take thou authority to *read* the Gospel in the Church of God, and to *preach* the same, if thou be thereby licensed by the Bishop himself.'

But not a word about any independent performance of *Divine service*, or any rite, except *infant baptism*; and that exceptive permission is very remarkable, for the same books that established this ordination service, also allowed even of *lay baptism*; so that all that was thereby given to the Deacon seems to be, that he might in absence of the Priest do at the font what any *layman* might in a like urgency do at home. And then comes a very curious fact—which totally overthrows all the '*Auswers*' and arguments about the word *Priest* in the absolution rubric—namely, that the right of Deacons to *baptize* being thus undoubted—there are none of all the services of our Church in which the terms *Priest* and *Minister* are so indiscriminately applied to the officiating minister as the two forms for *infant baptism*—though the technically sacramental words are—we cannot suppose by mere accident—assigned to the *priest*; and if the officiating *deacon* cannot use the words, there, and in twenty other places, given to the *priest*, he cannot baptize at all. As to the Deacon's *assisting* in Divine service, there is no doubt that he (or indeed any one) may *read* the Lessons—and by King Edward's first book the

* The new rubric did not follow the old English form, but adopted the different and more extended formula of Archbishop Laud's *Scottish liturgy*, in which he had used the Scottish term *presbyter* as synonymous with our *minister*; and in transferring this rubric to our book the compilers translated, as it were, *presbyter* into *priest*—a term which they all along used—as the canons do—as synonymous with *minister*.

Gospel—and by inference the Epistle; and by the 24th canon still in force—though never, that we have seen, practised—the Priest may at the table be specially ‘assisted with a *Gospeller* and *Episteller*,’ or as he was sometimes (seriously) called ‘*Pistoler*’ (Strype’s Parker, 183)—who *might* be deacons.* Any other assistance which a Deacon was to give at the Holy Communion and in the distribution thereof was only provided for in the first book of King Edward:—

‘¶ *If there be a deacon or other [than the officiating] priest, then shall he follow with the chalice, and as the priest ministereth the Sacrament of the body, so shall he for more expedition minister the Sacrament of the blood in form before written.*’

This was omitted in the second book and never restored—the duty of ‘helping the *chief ministers*’ being now given to ‘*other ministers* ;’—but the Ordination Service was not altered—probably because Deacons might still continue to assist as *Epistellers* and *Gospellers* ; and perhaps assist *manually* in the arrangement and carrying about of the sacred vessels. From all these premises it seems to us to follow in strict logic and law, that a Deacon has no right to perform—per se—any portion of Divine service—nor any other rite but *infant baptism*. But if this be a case in which long usage can confer clerical rights, there has been no doubt an Usage of near two centuries in favour of the diaconal ministration ; and if it be admitted that Deacons can *by usage* have acquired authority to do the rest of the Holy office, we do not see how we can refute Dr. Bennett’s opinion that they have an equal right to pronounce the Absolution;—though even in this case *we* should be reluctant to depart from the usage.

From this discussion, which we can hardly call a digression, we return to the order of the rubrics—and the next is that following the Absolution:—

‘¶ *The people shall answer here and at the end of all other prayers*
—*AMEN.*’

The use of the word *other* in this rubric is not critically correct, as the Absolution is not exactly a *prayer*, but Bishop Mant informs us that from the use of the word ‘*answer*’ some of the clergy suppose that the minister should leave the word *Amen* in every instance to the people. This expands itself into two or three discrepancies, which a little attention to the *rationale* of the forms may explain. We cannot indeed discover why the *answers* of the people are sometimes called *answers* and sometimes only designated to be such by the *italic* type ; it seems another of the inconsistencies of the rubric. But the difficulty noticed by Bishop Mant is solved by observing that the *Amen* is sometimes printed in the same type as the prayer or office to which

which it belongs, and that other *Amens* are in *italics*; this distinction is intended, we presume, to mark, as a general rule, that the minister is to say the *Amen* when in the same type as the prayer, and to leave to the people alone the *Amen* in *italics*.

We now reach the rubric preceding the *Venite*:—

‘¶ Then shall be said or sung the Psalms following: except upon Easter day, upon which *another anthem* is appointed, and on the 19th day of every month, when it is *not* to be read *here* but in the *ordinary course of the Psalms*.’

On this we note first that the *Psalms* is here called an *anthem*, on which we shall have to make an observation presently; and as to the second contingency, in which the *Venite* on the 19th of the month is to be read, *not here*, but in the *ordinary course of the Psalms*, it is to be remarked that this seems a distinction without a difference; for the 95th Psalm happens to be the first in the ordinary course of the Psalms for the 19th of the month, and *must* therefore be read exactly *here*. The same observation extends to the *Cantate* (98th Psalm) in the Evening service. This direction is but a clumsy way of saying that this Psalm shall not be read *twice* over on the same day; but it has led to another difficulty. The obvious intention and usual practice is, that the *Venite* should be read once every morning in the year; but it sometimes happens that the 19th falls on a day when there are *proper Psalms*, of which the 95th is never one;—and then the rubric becomes absolutely inexecutable, for the day is the 19th, and the Psalm cannot be read in the *ordinary course*. We have known a nice rubrician so puzzled with this discrepancy as to omit the *Venite* altogether, when perhaps, as on Whit Sunday for instance, it might be very appropriate, and when there can be no doubt it was intended that it should be read or sung.

We next have the rubric for the Psalms:—

‘¶ Then shall be said or sung the Psalms in order as they are appointed.’

This short and apparently plain rubric opens to Bishop Mant several questions—some we think trifling—one or two others of greater gravity, but all proving one thing, the imperfection of the rubric as an universal guide. The trifles are—whether the minister should always begin the new Psalm, though he had ended the last;—then, in what precise words the Psalms should be announced—whether by the day of the month or the number of the Psalm, or by both; and, again, whether one should say—‘*The first day of the month - Morning Prayer—the first Psalm*’—or—‘*The first morning of the month—the first Psalm*,’ &c. &c.

But leaving these futilities - of which we might exhibit half a dozen more—we may observe that this rubric involves a question that

that would be of real gravity and interest if the strictness of rubrics is not to be tempered by the equity of usage. By what rubrical or even canonical authority is it that the *Venite* and other Hymns, and the Psalms, are repeated *alternately* by the priest and the people? The *Gloria Patri* is especially, and therefore exceptionally, ordered to be so repeated—but there is not a shadow of rubrical authority *for*, and therefore—according to the new doctrine that the want of a rubric, or, as Bishop Mant calls it, ‘the silence of the Church,’ is *conclusive* against any usage—there is clear authority *against* any such alternation in the Hymns and Psalms themselves. The explanation of alternation is, we presume, that the original and proper form was that the Psalms and Hymns should be sung or chanted by the choirs, as they still are in cathedrals, colleges, and indeed several parish Churches; and that the singers, for their own ease, sang them antiphonically: whence—as well perhaps as from very ancient custom—in places where they did not ‘sing,’ a usage grew up by which the verses are pronounced antiphonically—that is, alternately—with the doubly wholesome effect of lightening the duty of the minister, and of connecting the people more immediately with what was always intended as a popular and *choral* exercise. Nothing surely can be a stronger proof that the successive framers of the rubrics did not intend them to be as a perfect and rigidly inviolable rule than their omission to recognise—except only in the *Gloria Patri*—the general, and, we cannot doubt, very early practice of alternation.

‘¶ Then shall be read the Lesson as it is appointed in the Calendar, except there be proper lessons assigned for that day.

‘¶ Note that before every Lesson the minister shall say, Here beginneth such a chapter, or verse of such a chapter, of such a book; and after every Lesson, Here endeth the first or the second Lesson.’

These rubrics occasioned it seems various small discrepancies, of which we have already given a sample. But there are two questions of a somewhat graver character. Some of the clergy, when a Saint’s Day happens to concur with a Sunday, prefer reading the collect and lesson appointed for the *Lord’s Day*. But can it ever have been questioned that when Christmas Day, for instance, falls on a Sunday, the proper festival service should supersede the ordinary Sunday service? And what rubrical difference can be alleged between Christmas Day and the other holy-days enumerated in the same ‘table of proper lessons’? Bishop Mant decided for the holy-day service; but the Bishop of London, in his celebrated Charge of 1842, says, ‘authoritatively,’—

‘When a Saint’s day falls upon a Sunday, the Collect for the Saint’s day,

day, as well as that for the Sunday, should be read, and the Epistle and Gospel for the Saint's day, but the Lessons for Sunday.'

We beg pardon; but we think we can show that the rubrics are *clear* against his Lordship's decision. First, as to *double* collects—the rubric is decisive that there should be only *the* collect of the day, with the two other collects for *Peace* and *Grace*—making, as is *expressly* directed, '*three*' collects, and not *four*, except in some special instances, as Advent and Christmas week, &c., where there are especial rubrics for double collects—an exception that confirms the general rule.

Again, a special rubric says,—

'*Note.* That *whenever* proper psalms or lessons are appointed, then the psalms and lessons of *ordinary course*, appointed in the Psalter and Calendar (if they be different), shall be omitted for that time.'

It is true that, the *Sunday* lessons being *proper lessons*, as well as the *holy day* lessons, this rubric does not in precise terms give the latter a preference over the former; but does it not do so in spirit? Is it not clear that the Sunday lessons are an '*ordinary course*,' which '*for that time*' the special and accidental service for the holy day is meant to supersede? and, finally, as there is a positive rubric that the Sunday collect shall be used every day in the following week, what rubrical difference can be alleged for its use on one day and its disuse on another? The argument is still stronger for the lessons, as there are many Sundays for which no second lessons are specially appointed, and several Saints' days for which there are special second lessons, and in that case the Bishop of London's rule would make an inevitable and unseemly jumble. But on this point another and stranger difficulty has been started. Bishop Mant tells us that, when the lesson for the Saint's day happens to be from the *Apocrypha*, he approves of the substitution of

'the *Sunday lesson* from a *canonical* book, as on the whole *preferable*.'—*Hor. Lit.*, p. 45.

What, we must ask, is the use of authorities—why do people stickle for ambiguous rubrics, when the plainest are thus set aside? Why should any individual minister be allowed to exercise his *individual* 'preference' against the clear directions of the rubric, and to reject and stigmatize as unfit to be read passages which the Church, both ancient and modern, had, after long and mature consideration, adopted and enjoyed? The sixth of our XXXIX Articles says that—

'the Church does not apply the Apocrypha to establish any doctrine, yet it doth read it *for example of life and instruction of manners*.'

The

The Church, then, in its Articles and its Rubric, says *Read*, but some innovators, it seems, say *No!* But see the consequence of these qualms about the Apocrypha. The commemoration of the Conversion of St. Paul happened in the year 1846 on *Sunday* the 25th of January, the proper lesson being '*5th Wisdom*,' one of the most beautiful and appropriate lessons in the whole ritual of holy days; but it is from the *Apocrypha*, and these gentlemen decline to read it. Very well. But the year after the day fell on a *Monday*,—and then, no other lesson being provided, there was no help for it, and they were forced to read the identical lesson repudiated the year before; and so on ten or a dozen holy days which have lessons from *Wisdom* or *Ecclesiasticus*,—those lessons, as the learned inform us, having been selected for those days from these Apocryphal books 'for especial reasons,' into which we need not enter. But this is not the worst dilemma in which this scruple about the Apocrypha will involve those who indulge it, for there are no less than forty-one days in the year for the services of which—either morning or evening—no other Lessons are appointed than from the Apocrypha; and if the anti-Apocryphalist should haply escape reading the *5th Wisdom* on the commemoration of the *Conversion of St. Paul*, or the *51st Ecclesiasticus* on that of *St. Luke*, he will nevertheless be obliged to read the former on the 15th of October, and the latter on the 19th of November!

But now, supposing the proper lesson settled and about to begin, we are met by another of those questions which the strict rubricians do not find it convenient to notice, though it falls peculiarly within their province, and which, if we were to be guided by rubrics and nothing else, would be of serious difficulty and urgent importance. We mean the *posture* in which the congregation should hear or join in the several offices. We have touched this question lightly as regarded the prefatory Sentences; but as it now arises more directly as to the position of the people at reading the Lessons, and is from this point forward of frequent, indeed constant, recurrence, we shall now collect into one view all that occurs to us on this subject in course of the daily and communion services.

Since the Church has thought fit to give any directions on this subject, it will, at first sight, seem strange that they are neither so frequent nor so full as a student might expect to find them. In truth, it seems that, after the repeal of the rubric concerning *kneeling and crossing* in King Edward's first book, there was a great disinclination in the succeeding legislators

lators to meddle with habits and usages on which, even when they were mere forms, they¹ felt that the people would be very jealous of any alteration; but as postures are sometimes prescribed, it is only fair to suppose that, a certain posture being directed, it is meant—without specially repeating the rubric—that such posture shall continue till another is substituted. This is the common sense way of interpreting any such matters, and we shall therefore adopt it as our guide. Thus at the outset we have supposed the people to be standing, because they are directed to kneel at the Confession, and they therefore continue to kneel (though the priest, by special directions, twice changes *his* posture) till after the responses at the end of the *Lord's Prayer*, when '*all stand up*,' and the service proceeds in that position; and when by the next rubric the '*Venite*,' and by a subsequent rubric, 'the *Psalms*, are to be said or sung,' without saying anything of a change of posture, it follows that, all having been left *standing*, it is intended that the *Venite* and the daily *Psalms* are also to be repeated standing. But then comes the rubric for the *First Lesson*, at which the minister is specially directed to stand—not as an order to *stand* merely, for he was already standing—but to stand in a particular way so that the people might hear—but no direction is given for the rest of the congregation, who also had been left *standing*. In primitive times, as we have said, there were no seats at all for the people, and there was no thought nor any great necessity that the congregation should ever sit during the comparatively short services of the Roman Catholic Church, or in the original practice of our separate services; but when by the junction of the different offices the time of attendance became so much lengthened, some intervals of sitting became necessary for the congregation in the naves and bodies of the churches:—as there must always have been for the select congregations in the choirs, as is attested by the existence of stalls and *sedilia*, though we know of no indication as to the particular portions of the service during which the occupiers of stalls were to sit. Nothing can show more strongly the prudent—some years ago we would have said the *over* prudent—reluctance of the Church of England to make any change in its rubrics, than the great and most striking fact that the introduction of seats and pews, and of consequent intervals of *sitting*, produced no alteration in the rubric, which in its theory would leave us still standing during the Lessons. We sit then by usage. We are aware that some of the stricter Rubricians are candid enough to feel this difficulty, and—in their zeal to erect the rubric into an infallible guide—for the sake of preserving the Church-militant and one or two other pet rubrics—have proposed that the congregation

gation should *not* sit at the lessons. We have seen this proposition in print, but we do not believe that it has ever been attempted in practice. Even those *Anglo-Catholics* who may secretly wish for a wholesale return to '*Catholic forms*,' are too wary to risk such a storm of indignation and vengeance as *this* innovation could not fail to bring down upon them. They have made war on pews by arguments that would equally apply to seats of any kind, but they have not yet ventured to interfere directly with that most unrubrical habit of sitting—and so we go on sitting at the first Lesson and standing at the *Te Deum*, and sitting again at the second Lesson and rising again at the *Benedictus* and *Jubilate*, by the prevalent authority of Usage. But here comes an anomaly which disturbs the defence we make for the *theoretic* consistency of the rubric:—at the *Creed*, which comes next, we are specially directed to stand—as if we had repeated the previous psalms in some other posture. The explanation of this we suppose is, that in the old mass, and by King Edward's first liturgy, the *Kyrie Eleeson* (*Lord have mercy upon us*, &c.), during which all were ordered to kneel, preceded the *Creed*—at which also it seems the people then knelt, as they still partly do in the Romish service; but when in the second book (adhered to by all subsequent) the *Creed* was put into its present place, it was thought advisable to warn the congregation that a change had been made from the old posture, and that they were now to stand. This guess, if correct, accounts for the special, though, in our day, superfluous direction for *standing* at the *Creed*.

The *Kyrie Eleeson* now follows the *Creed*, *all kneeling*; and so it would seem to be intended that we should continue throughout the Collects and prayers, &c. to the end of the service. But unluckily at the end of the third collect comes this rubric:—

'¶ *In quires and places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem.*'

Are we to kneel while the Anthem is singing? So the strict construction would indicate. This difficulty does not exist in any of the older books, as the anthem rubric was added at the last revision; but in rubrics as well as in garments *patching* will betray itself. We find that even in Wheatley's day—above 140 years ago—this rubric had already fallen into desuetude; and it seems probable that it *never* was used since the union of the services. If an Anthem were to be sung at the short morning service, without the Litany, this no doubt would be a proper place for it—and the rubric would be imperative; but there never has been, we believe (unless exceptionally in cathedrals), any anthem singing in this short daily service. So that in fact this anthem could only be used between the Collect and the Litany, and its introduction

in this place would be *now* an interruption of the course of devotional exercises without visible motive or excuse, and it is much better postponed to the interval created by the new arrangement between the Litany and the altar service.

But moreover it is evident that this rubric applied only to *quires* and places where the *full singing* service, including *the—not an but the*—anthem, was performed, and had no reference at all to places where there were no better singers than the parish clerk and charity children;—*the* anthem could never have been expected from them—and therefore Wheatley's reluctant device of carrying out the rubric by singing a psalm here instead of *the anthem* utterly failed, and never for 130 years was thought of till these recent struggles for the *strict letter* against the *evident spirit* of the rubrics brought it to life again.

We resume the question of postures. "There is no rubric for the posture of either priest or people at the Litany—which is certainly a strange omission in the rubrical code; but it is supplied by the 18th Canon, which, however, is in other respects a very imperfect guide, for though at its date *sitting* must have been to some extent introduced, it does not mention that posture; but directs us to kneel 'when the general Confession, Litany, and other prayers are read, and to stand up at the saying of the Belief;' as if that were the only standing place in the whole service. It directs also the audible repetition *with* the Priest of the Lord's Prayer, Confession, and Creed, and affords the only human authority for bowing at the name of our Saviour.

No other question of posture or position occurs to us on the rest of the *daily service*; but on arriving at the *Communion* service we find considerable doubts and many rubrical difficulties. The first that presents itself is as to the local and personal position of the Minister for that portion of the service usually called the Sunday Altar Service. Wheatley himself admits that the question is not clear of doubt, and that even in his time this service 'was very frequently performed *at the Desk*' (*Wheatley*, xxx. § 2). Mr. Robertson, whose personal feelings are strongly in favour of the service at the table, produces, with his usual candour, indisputable instances that—the provision of the first book of King Edward for reading it at the Table having been dropped in the following books—a habit grew up of reading it from the *Desk* and even from the Pulpit, and that such was the practice till 'Laud attempted to introduce a change.' The matter was debated at the Savoy Conference. The Bishops stickled for a return to the Communion-table, 'but did not,' says Mr. Robertson, 'at the ensuing revision of the Liturgy, make the rubric

rubric imperative' (p. 92). Perhaps not distinctly and in terms imperative—but we do think that all the rubrics, prefatory as well as incidental, create such a body of inferences as amounts to an injunction, and renders it impossible to separate this service from the north side of the Communion-table, whether there be or be not a communion.

But the minister's personal position at the table is occasionally liable to slight irregularity. He is expressly directed '*to stand at the north side of the table*'—not the *right* nor the *left*, but the *north* side of the table. This was on the supposition that the table was to stand with its ends north and south; but when the table was moveable into the body of the church, that was not always the case, and it gave rise to much contention; and even in our day, though the tables are in a vast majority of cases placed altar-wise, yet a few old and some modern churches and chapels not being built east and west, the ends of their tables do not stand north and south. So that the Minister, to comply with the spirit of the rubric, is forced to violate its positive injunction and to stand at the *east* or *west* side of the table according to its local position. We have been we had almost said amused at seeing a distinguished Puseyite, since gone over to Rome, who happening to officiate in a church which ran north and south instead of east and west, was ostentatiously during the whole service directing towards the *north* the worship that he devoutly intended for the *east*.

About the posture of the people in the first portion of the Communion service there is no rubric; but there can be no great doubt that, in obedience to the 18th Canon, they are to *kneel*, as being at *prayers* and (it may be inferred) in the same part of the church where they before stood or knelt—and in that position they hear and respond to the Commandments and the Collect for the King or Queen.

'¶ Then shall be read the Collect of the day'—
still of course kneeling—

'And immediately after the Collect the Priest shall read the

Thus then, these canons and rubrics, taken together, require that, if we kneel at the Commandments and Collect, we should also *kneel* during the *Epistle*, which is *immediately* to follow the *Collect*—the word *immediately*, otherwise unnecessary, seeming to be added—in this place alone—to ensure this posture; and as if to make this more clear, at the Gospel the people are especially directed to *stand up*—as if, we say, to mark more emphatically that they

they had been previously *kneeling*, for nowhere either in canon or rubric is there the slightest hint of *sitting*.

We readily admit that this manifest absurdity could not have been intended—but it is rubrical; and we notice it as an important instance of the folly and mischief into which an over-scrupulous and too rigid adherence to the very letter of the rubrics might lead, as we think it has done in the case of the Church-militant Prayer.

Then follows the *Sermon or Homily*. We shall have presently some important points to discuss before the Minister passes from the table to the pulpit, but, at this moment, we confine ourselves to the question of posture, and we find no direction for the place of delivery or the posture of the auditory during the sermon. The rubric nowhere mentions a *pulpit*, and nowhere, as we have just said, authorises *sitting*; the Homily has been occasionally read from the table, and the Epistle and Gospel from the pulpit—and pulpits have assuredly in former days stood in places where there were no sittings prepared for the auditory—but who questions the convenience and decency of the practice of the Sermon from a pulpit and the congregation seated? yet all this is by *usage*.

After the sermon no direction is given as to the Minister's place when he returns to the table. King Edward's first Liturgy assigns him throughout pretty nearly the position ' *afore the midst of the altar*' that the Romish Priest occupies, but that was omitted in all subsequent books; and the Clergy, very properly, we think, '*return*' to the *same place*, that is, the north side of the table, from which they had departed, though the rubrical direction only requires them generally to return to *the table*.

In a subsequent rubric they are desired on one occasion to stand *before the table to order the elements*, and that seems to imply that, except for that purpose, they are not to stand before the table at any other time. The direction is not as express as, considering the seriousness of the occasion, we might have expected to find it, but tradition and the unvaried usage of 250 years had decided the matter, and maintained an entire uniformity of practice—till the Puseyite Romanisers, under pretence of rubrical exactness, found that there was no exact rubric on the point, and have attempted to negative the inferences which had been so long and, we think, so justly drawn from the former rubric, by kneeling, the bold ones in front of the table, and the tyros in Romanism at the north-west corner, as we have before stated.

At the Offertory which follows, and at the Exhortation, it is the custom—there being no special direction—that the Minister stands and the people usually sit, though some kneel during the Exhortation. Bishop Mant, however, decides without assigning,
or,

or, as far as we can see, *having* any authority for the decision, that—

‘Standing, not sitting, is the proper posture for the congregation while the *sentences* are in reading.’ Standing, and not kneeling, is their proper posture during the *Exhortation*.—*Hor. Lit.*, p. 61.

We cannot satisfy ourselves that the first of these decisions is correct. It seems—besides being unwarranted—repugnant to good order and common sense. It is obvious that the duty of presenting the plate to every one cannot be satisfactorily nor indeed *safely* performed unless the people are regularly seated.

This argument does not apply in the same degree to the *Exhortation*—but we incline to think that the congregation had better not stand when they are not themselves participating in the exercise of the rite; and if they do not kneel they should sit here, as they do at the lessons, the epistle, the sermon, and everywhere else when they are not themselves taking a part—except only at the Gospel, where there is a special rubric directing them to stand—*honoris causâ*:—but here again, either posture is decent, and the usage of the place ought to be preferred.

There is no rubric for the posture of either priest or people at the Church-militant Prayer. Bishop Mant says nothing about it, unless he meant to imply that the Minister is to *stand*, by saying (p. 61), that ‘He is to kneel but three times during the *Administration*—at the *General Confession*—the Prayer *We do not presume*—and when he receives’—but as the Church-militant Prayer is no part of the *Administration*, but, *ex hypothesi*, is to be said whether there be an *Administration* or no, his Lordship leaves, we think, that point—the only really doubtful one—undecided. The general custom is—under, we presume, the general authority of the Canon—that both kneel; and this, we think, seems most consistent with general principles;—but we have seen many of the Clergy still stand at the north side of the table while they recite this prayer.

But when the full Communion is to be celebrated a general change of place is at this period suggested, if not prescribed, to the people. By King Edward’s first book it is directed that the *Communicants shall tarry in or near the Quire—the men and women separated—all non-communicants departing out of the Quire*. We need not examine whether this meant that the non-communicants should depart altogether out of the *Church* as well as out of the *Quire*, because the whole rubric was omitted in King Edward’s second and all succeeding books, and must be held to stand repealed; and there is now nothing that we see to prevent the non-communicants, if their curiosity should so incline them, from continuing in the *Church*, or even in the *Quire*—Usage alone protects

protects us from so unseemly a practice. But a rubric, added at the revision in 1662, provides that those who intend to communicate shall now

be conveniently placed for receiving the Holy Sacrament.'

This clearly means that the communicants should *now* take the places in which they are to *receive*, and would, according to Wheatley, justify the minister in carrying the Sacrament about the church to wherever the people may have placed themselves:—‘A custom,’ says that writer, ‘still retained in some country churches, where the communicants kneel down in rows behind one another, and, there continue till’ the minister comes to them’;—(c. vi. s. 13)—a custom which *we* have never happened to see, but in some colleges where there are neither chancels nor communion-rails, and where the elements were carried down the body of the chapel and administered to the communicants in the same places they had occupied during the service. The general usage, however, of coming up to the Lord’s table is more convenient and decent, and, to our own feelings, more edifying. Nay, it seems to us distinctly enjoined by the words of the prayer—

‘We do not presume to come to this thy table, O Lord, trusting in our own righteousness.’

In large churches, and where there are galleries, while the non-communicants are withdrawing, the communicants generally come from the more distant parts, and take their *seats* in the neighbourhood of the table: but in small churches there seems no need of any special approach to the table at this time.

But then—after all the communicants have been directed and are supposed to be already *in situ* and in the places where they are to receive—come the words of the invitation—

‘Ye that do truly, &c. *Draw near*’—

which would, if obeyed, disturb all that was before ordered. To prevent this, the words ‘*with faith*’ were added at the last revision,—which words reconcile the invitation with the former rubric, by intimating that only a *spiritual* ‘drawing near’ was here meant. Yet Wheatley strangely says, ‘I think it would be more proper if all the communicants were, *at these words*, to come from the remote parts of the church, as near to the Lord’s table as they could;’—forgetting, it seems, the rubric for the *convenient placing* which he had just before discussed, and which was, we can have no doubt, meant—with the addition *here* of the words ‘*by faith*’—to prevent any such disturbance of the rite as would take place if, at these words,

words,—‘*Draw near*’—the whole congregation were suddenly to crowd round the Lord’s table.

Thus, then, if we were to be guided by the rubrics alone, we should be liable to conflicting and afflicting diversities at the most awful moment of our whole religious existence.

The only remaining point that can afford any doubt is, what should be the position of the people at the two hymns—*Ter sanctus* (*Therefore with angels, archangels, &c.*) and the *Gloria in excelsis* (*Glory be to God on high, &c.*). By the rubric they are presumed to be kneeling; but, by analogy with all other hymns, it has been the general (we know not whether universal) custom for the congregation to rise *spontaneously* at these two offices, and to kneel immediately when they are over; for these, and some other spontaneous movements of the congregation—such as standing at ‘*Now to God the father, &c.*’ at the close of the sermon, and then kneeling for the Blessing—the minister is not responsible, nor can he afford a personal example, for he is certainly at the first hymn, and, we presume, at the second, *standing* at the table; but the *clerk*, habituated to the usages of the place, gives, as it were, a signal to the rest of the congregation.

And here, being the first place we have had occasion to mention this officer who takes so prominent a part in leading and directing the congregation, we must notice that there is no rubrical authority whatsoever for his appearance or even existence. In the service of matrimony a clerk is mentioned, with a view, we presume, to the *registry* of the marriage, but where clerks are elsewhere mentioned, they are *clerici*, either *singing clerks* or ministers. Here again the rubrics fail.

We have now concluded that portion of the task we originally proposed to ourselves of bringing to notice some of the many instances where the rubrics—either designedly silent or accidentally imperfect, or from change of circumstances inapplicable—are not and cannot be, and could not by their authors have been intended to be perfect, exclusive, and all-sufficient guides through all the details of our various and, in strict theory, incoherent services.

And this brings us at last to the real and, we might almost say, only object of this long and complicated struggle—the *gown and surplice*—to which all the other questions of ‘*Psalm before sermon*,’ and ‘*pulpit prayers*,’ and ‘*offertory*,’ and ‘*Church-militant Prayer*,’ are mere corollaries. It is, as we have before stated, for the sake of these particular rubrics that so much zeal has been shown for all the other rubrics and such efforts been made to give them the character of a complete and absolutely imperative code. And we confess that it is with a like view to these rubrics, but in the opposite direction, that we also have taken so

much

much pains to show that the rubric has no such claims to absolute perfection and infallibility; and we have been the more anxious to support this opinion, because it gives still greater force to and ensures a more complete acquiescence in the Address of the Prelates, which is essentially founded on this principle. It has been a *cant*, even with those who are most vehement on this question, to call it 'a thing in itself indifferent.' The feeling it has everywhere created, and the zeal with which it is contested, is a sufficient proof that it is *not* 'a thing indifferent.' Why should it? Are the royal mantle, or the peer's robe, or the judge's ermine, or the bishop's lawn, or the ribbands of knighthood, or the soldier's colours, or the seaman's flag, things indifferent? The gown and surplice are as significant as any of these—nay, more so, if we were to listen to the fancies of some rubricians, who see, in their very shapes and colours, divers mystical meanings; but, at all events, they have been by a usage as old, we believe, as any ecclesiastical vestures, severally and in contradistinction appropriated to separate and different offices—the *gown*, or ordinary clerical dress, to the *preacher*, who is then delivering a lecture or essay of his own composition, always fallible, often erroneous, sometimes blameable, occasionally punishable—the *surplice* to the *minister*, for the performance of the strictly sacred offices where nothing can be pronounced but the written Word of God and the prescribed language of the Church. The distinction, then, is sufficiently obvious, and the principle at issue abundantly important. Nor is it a new one. '*Preaching in his whites*' was, we repeat, one of Archbishop Laud's favourite objects; and, indeed, there is hardly one (not a single one, we believe) of the changes recently attempted, even down to *crossings* and *candlesticks*, for which we cannot find a precedent in the proceedings by which that unhappy prelate, through his well-meaning but wrong-headed and too adventurous zeal, contributed so largely to the ruin of himself, his king, his church, and his country. Laud was, we are willing to believe, not Papist—the Bishops of Down, Exeter, and London, who have in our day countenanced the *preaching in whites*, and some other, of the Laudian practices, are certainly obnoxious to no such reproach; but this fact is undeniable, that of the numbers of the clergy and laity who have recently apostatised to Rome, there was *not one who had not distinguished himself by his zealous and ostentatious addiction to those practices*. This single fact is an abundant, a superabundant justification of the interest which is felt about these so-called 'indifferent matters,'—of the increased jealousy with which they are looked upon by all thinking Protestants,—of our own anxious endeavours to counteract

teract them; and, finally, of the *serg* tamen intervention of the English Prelates in March, 1851.

In pursuing this subject, we must again have recourse to the *Horæ Liturgicæ*, because—though we firmly believe that if Bishop Mant had seen the recent apostacies he would have changed his opinion on these points—they afford the shortest as well as most authoritative exposition of this part of the question.

The struggle commences at the conclusion of the Nicene Creed. Here there usually follows a psalm, and as this psalm would give the minister an opportunity of changing his surplice for a gown before ascending the pulpit, the psalm is somewhat slyly, and as if for another reason, forbidden—

‘ 55. Singing after the Nicene Creed is *out of place*, and *disturbs* the appointed order of the service. The Church’s direction, “Then shall follow the sermon,” is a plain indication of her *mind and will*.’—*Mant*, 57. Now this is the very most unfortunate assertion that could be imagined; for this place, where we are thus told that ‘a psalm would disturb the proper order of service, contrary to the mind and will of the Church,’ is the very place, and the *only* place, in the whole service where the Church makes a real interruption dedicated to ‘*notices, briefs, citations*,’ and other worldly matters, and where, *if the giving out the psalm be* (according to the Bishop of London’s former fancy) *a proclamation*, is the express place for proclaiming it. This proves beyond all question that if Bishop Mant’s other doctrine, of not interrupting the service, be of the least weight, this is not merely the proper, but the *only* proper, place for the introduction of the psalm. This is conclusive. Yet, to clench the nail, we beg leave to remind the reader that the metrical psalms attached to King Edward’s, and Queen Elizabeth’s, and King James’s, and King Charles’s Prayer-Books, were *allowed by authority to be sung before sermons*. And their present use is in general terms sanctioned by the authority of the King in Council—Temp. Will. III., when Tate and Brady’s version was substituted for that of Sternhold and Hopkins.

This endeavour to get rid of the psalm, that there might be no pause in which the clergyman might change his surplice for the gown without inconvenience, is followed up by saying that

‘ In some congregations the minister here *withdraws from the church* to the vestry-room to change his surplice. In others the minister proceeds at once from the communion-table to the pulpit without,’ &c.—*Mant*, 23.

Candour will not approve this invidious representation—which we were sorry to see also in the Bishop of London’s Charge of 1842—of the going into the vestry as a withdrawing *from the church*; nor another phrase of the same character:—

‘ 56. Neither

‘ 56. Neither at this nor at any other time of the service should the minister *separate or absent himself from his congregation* :—

A truth that no one would deny, But who would have imagined that passing into the vestry should be called, in a criminatory sense, ‘ *separating or absenting himself from his congregation* ?’

But having thus disparaged the change of dress by innuendo, he directly forbids it:—

‘ The Church imposes on him no such necessity [for a change of dress]. She neither enjoins, nor sanctions, nor *permits*, nor *recognises* a change of dress.’ - *Mant*, 57.

This is bold, in the face of those rubrics—the only ones now in force on this point, which we have before quoted, but must here produce again:—

‘ *In the saying of matin or evensong the minister shall use a surplice.*’

But at the communion the minister

‘ *shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration—that is to say, a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope.*’

How can it be said that ‘ the Church neither enjoins, nor sanctions, nor permits, nor recognises a change of dress, when the Church does not only *permit* and *sanction*, but *enjoin* so certain and remarkable a change—and not once but twice during this office ?

It would be no excuse, on this occasion, to say that *cofes* have been long *disused* ; for *surplices in the pulpit* had also been long, we believe equally long, *disused* ; and the surplice and the cope stand on the same authority.

Now comes another difficulty. The rubric, after the Nicene Creed, directs that there shall be *then* given out the warning for the next celebration of the Communion ; and this is generally done by reading the first two or three sentences of the Exhortation, which a subsequent rubric directs to be read after the sermon. Wheatley admits that here is a difficulty arising from some ‘ *inadvertency*,’ and Bishop Mant calls it an ‘ *oversight*.’ We, however, will not insist upon this as an absolute discordance between the rubrics : for, as we showed in our former liturgical article, the *notice* may be one thing, and the *Exhortation* another. It is, however, quite clear that the strict rubric requires the Exhortation to be pronounced (as it never is) *in extenso*, and *after the sermon*.

But supposing that any one should now attempt to introduce this practice, he would find another difficulty, for there is no direction where the Exhortation is to be read. The rubric says it shall be read *after sermon or homily ended*, which implies immediately after,

after, and, of course, from the *pulpit*; but it is placed after the Church-militant Prayer, which implies that it shall be read from the *table*. The difficulty—indeed, we think, the impossibility—of settling this point is the justification of the clergy for having adopted the apparent irregularity of reading a portion of the Exhortation by way of notice after the Nicene Creed.

We are now arrived at the sermon or homily; and those who have not looked closely at these matters will be surprised that we are here met with a most serious, and, as far as the rubrics go, insurmountable difficulty. Where is the sermon to be pronounced? The rubric makes no mention of a pulpit; and we have recently seen one or two Puseyite attempts at building and repairing churches in which the pulpits are altogether omitted. Wheatley himself can find no other authority for the sermon's being preached from the pulpit but very vague inference:—

‘Observing in the next rubric that the priest is ordered to return to the table, it must be *supposed* that he was in the pulpit, since he was at the table before.’—c. vi. s. viii. § 4.

So that really if we are to be guided by the rubrics alone, those who have attempted to abolish the pulpits would have some excuse, for Wheatley's inference would not conclude them; first, because they deny that *inferences* can supply the place of rubrics; and, secondly, because ‘returning to the table’ does not necessarily imply that he returned *from the pulpit*, for he might have returned to the table from the front part of the chancel, where, in order to be better heard, he might have delivered his sermon—just as the direction given in the middle of the marriage ceremony for the priest to ‘go to the Lord's table’ certainly does not imply that the former part of it had been performed in the pulpit.

See to what confusion, and may we not say absurdity, a rigorous and exclusive application of the rubric would lead us. Usage and the canon remove all these difficulties—the canon provides a pulpit, and usage guides the minister to mount it at this period of the service.

The omission of the prayer before sermon is for several reasons a great object with this party. Some clergymen, says the Bishop of Down, use a prayer of their own—others a form from the Prayer-Book—some this—others that—‘others deliver their text and begin the sermon at once.’—p. 24. Of course he decides in favour of these last ‘others.’ We can only say that, except in one or two Ultra-Puseyite cases, we never saw nor heard of those ‘others’ who did not preface the sermon by a prayer.

The Bishop says—

‘I can find no authority for it.’

He

He adds:—

‘The 55th Canon, which is the *nearest approach* to an authority, contains a form, which, however, is not *precatory*, but *injunctive* and not *monitory*; “*ye shall pray for Christ’s Holy Catholic Church*”—so that this form (whatever may have been and may be its authority for the purpose to which it was directed) is *no authority for a prayer*.’—*Hor. Lit.*, 58.

This extraordinary statement, which throws the *Canon* overboard, as at best no more than an approach—a misinterpreted approach—to an authority, is the more extraordinary, because the *pulpit* itself has, since Queen Elizabeth’s Injunctions, no authority for its existence but the *Canon*: and that it should be asserted that the *Canon* is no authority for *prayer*, passes our understanding, and will still more astonish our readers when we present them with the *ipsissima verba* of the Canon:—

‘CANON 55. *The form of PRAYER to be used by all Preachers BEFORE their Sermons.*

‘Before all lectures, homilies and sermons, the preachers and ministers shall move the people to *join with them in prayer* in this form, and to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they may, “Ye shall pray,” &c.’

And this is *no authority for PRAYER*! But still more wonderful is this assertion when we read to the end of this ‘form,’ and find that the Canon farther directs,

‘*Always concluding with the LORD’S PRAYER.*’

And *this*, as it was the canonical rule, has been the invariable practice. We stated in our article on Liturgical Reform (vol. lxxii. p. 530), a doubt whether the *bidding prayer* was not originally meant for occasional sermons, not forming a part of Divine service, and as a check on the preacher’s political opinions. We are still of the same mind as to the original intention; but sermons of that kind are forbidden by the Act of Uniformity, and there can be no doubt that, in fact, a kind of bidding prayer has always been used to ordinary sermons. We have already mentioned the case in the *Spectator*, which in 1712 talks of it as an old practice. There is a pleasant and much earlier anecdote to the same effect—‘Lord Halifax (Savile) was at church, and his chaplain preaching prayed as usual for his patron, but made an indifferent sermon; my Lord said, “Though the fellow was a fool he need not have said *whose fool* he was.”’—*Harl. MS.*; and Pepys, as early as the fourth year after the promulgation of the present liturgy, notes—‘23rd Dec. 1666: To church, where a vain fellow in a periwigg, preached. Chaplain—as *by his prayer appeared*—to Lord Carlisle.’—*Diary*, v. III. 365. The political object of the

the bidding prayers appears so late as George I., who, shortly after his accession, issued his royal mandate to all the archbishops and bishops to enforce a strict compliance with the Canon as to these pulpit prayers. The immediate cause of issuing this mandate was, we know historically, that several of the Jacobite clergy evaded the reading of the pulpit prayer, which contained a direct recognition of the title of George I.—and a smart political and ritual controversy ensued; but ultimately the clergy—availing themselves of the latitude given by the words in the Canon—‘in this form, or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently may be—’—thought that the conditions of *brevity and convenience* would be better fulfilled by the adoption of a collect instead of the cumbersome and tautologous model given in the Canon, and of the adulatory abuse which had been engrafted on it.

But though Bishop Mant so, to us, incomprehensibly denied the existence of *any* authority for pulpit prayers, we find that in practice he softened a little, and admitted them as matter of indulgence to the prejudices of the people:—

‘If, however, *popular prepossession* should be in favour of a prayer here, and the minister should *think it desirable to indulge* such a prepossession, he might perhaps, *I will not say justify, but excuse* his indulgence on a plea of *long-continued usage, &c.*’—*Id.*

But if long-continued usage can *excuse* the *indulgence* of a popular prejudice, against which the Church’s opinion is asserted to be ‘*conclusive*,’ why not allow a similar indulgence to *long-continued usage* in the case of the psalms and surplice?

After the sermon (and the Exhortation if here pronounced)

‘¶ The Priest is to return to the Lord’s Table and begin the Offertory.’

Here is another inaccuracy in the Rubric; for the preacher need not be, and very often is not, the *Priest*. Nor does the Rubric here distinguish the cases of there being or not being a Communion to follow; but that is of no importance—the Offertory is of course included—for the post-Communion Rubric decides that

‘¶ Upon the Sundays and other holy days (if there be no Communion) shall be said all that is appointed for the Communion until the end of the general prayer for the whole state of Christ’s Church Militant.’

This is the Rubric on which the great contention turns, and we must endeavour to explain it, and, we hope, excuse the disuse into which it and the Offertory which depends upon it have fallen when there is no Communion. It is the only authority for the performance of what is popularly called the *altar-service*, answering

ing to the *Missa sicca*, or *dry Mass*, of the old Church; it limits its performance to Sundays and holy days, but it does not, nor does any other rubric, authorise, or even seem to contemplate, its conjunction with the Morning Service or the Litany, with which it is by usage now invariably conjoined. If Usage authorises the conjunction of this service to the two others, surely it may equally authorise the abridged form in which it has been as invariably, we believe, so conjoined, and, when so conjoined, reasonably abridged not only because it is an unauthorised lengthening of the service, but because the Church-militant prayer becomes almost tautologous when used with and after the Litany. If the altar service were to be performed, as all the rubrics seem to contemplate, alone, no one would dream of omitting the Church-Militant prayer, which would *then* be essential to the integrity of the office. But there is an antecedent rubric which is obviously inconsistent with this post-Communion Rubric as respects the Church-militant prayer:—

¶ *When there is a Communion* the Priest shall then [after the Offertory] place on the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient.

¶ *After which done* the priest shall say, the Church-militant prayer. This is clear; the prayer is to be said after *that* shall have been done which can only be done when there is a communion, and therefore it cannot be said when there is no communion. These are contradictory or at best ambiguous directions, between which the clergy had to choose, and when the short services were combined into a large one, they naturally and, we think, wisely chose that construction which was least tautologous. In aid of this motive came another and a stronger. The post-communion rubric coupled the Offertory and the prayer; but as the Poor Laws superseded 'the *poor man's box*,' into which (and not on the *table*) the collection was, under the earlier rubrics, to be put, the special use and necessity for the Offertory became less apparent, and the alms would naturally dwindle away;—so that in the subsequent Church-militant prayer a note was introduced to meet the case of no alms being given; and when it was found that this came to be the ordinary result, it seemed to the clergy, we will not say a 'mockery,' but idle and indecorous, to go on soliciting in the name of God and in the very words of the Gospel, offerings which they knew beforehand would not be contributed. Now, when Bishop Mant (and the Bishop of Exeter more recently) found it expedient to limit their injunction to the reading of '*one sentence at least* of the Offertory,' was not this a plain indication that they adhered to it as a *mere matter of form* from which no result was expected? And would it not be better

to acquiesce in the general custom of omitting the form altogether than expose it to the weekly affront of being slurred over by the Minister and ostentatiously repudiated by the people? Is not the opposite course an injudicious sacrifice of the dignity and spirit of the service to the letter of, may we not say, an ambiguous and, *ad hoc*, obsolete rubric?

Here we conclude our examination. We could have very much enlarged this catalogue of difficulties from the ordinary services, and might have found abundant discrepancies in the occasional offices; and, indeed, the whole series of Rubrics, Statutes, Canons, Proclamations, Articles, Inquiries, and Injunctions exhibit—even as abridged in Mr. Robertson's useful compendium, but much more so *in extenso*—such complexity, intricacy, and inconsistency, as to be, we believe, altogether inexplicable and irreconcilable. We at least can see in them neither order nor system; but we have, we trust, sufficiently fulfilled our object—first of vindicating the authority of *Usage* in our Church services—more especially as regards the main point in dispute;—secondly, of showing the efficiency and *sufficiency* of our existing system, and that any liturgical reformers who should undertake to direct all the details of all our services by some more comprehensive and inflexible rubrical code, would have a much harder task than has been generally supposed. We believe that not only would any such an attempt meet insuperable obstacles in its progress, but any result that might be obtained would only lead to new and more serious difficulties, and create a spirit of punctilious jealousy and captious litigation, certainly mischievous and probably fatal to the Church.

The existing system—founded on a combination of written and traditional law, of rubric and usage—has preserved our Church, from the Reformation (with the exception of Laud's unfortunate experiments) down to this Puseyite agitation, in a state of more satisfaction and harmony within the several parishes, and of greater uniformity as regards the Church in general, than the infallibility of Rome herself had been able to preserve amongst her own subjects for so long a period and to so great an extent; and we venture confidently to predict that no new system—even if one more theoretically perfect could be devised—could ever obtain so steady, so general, or so powerful an influence as that which is now endeared to our feelings by hallowed recollections, and sanctioned to our judgments by a long and happy experience.

Bishop Montague, the most romanizing of Laud's followers, gave the archbishop some very wholesome advice, which neither the giver nor the receiver had subsequently the discretion to follow. After stating to Laud some differences of detail which had occurred

in his diocese, he adds, 'my poor opinion is, that the matter is *interminutiora legis*, and we should make the best of it; and happily in these times of opposition it is not amiss to follow that wise direction of the greatest council of Christendom, the first of Nice, *Let ancient customs be observed.*' In our opinion, there needs neither Synod, nor Convocation, nor royal interposition to heal all our present feuds—it is enough to repeat, '*Let usages be observed.*'

'We can appreciate, however, though we cannot approve the sedative and plausible motives that so long kept some of our prelates altogether silent on these subjects, and induced Bishop Blomfield and Archbishop Howley and others to endeavour to deal with them by concessions and compromises that decided nothing and dissatisfied every body. They felt themselves trammelled by the *letter* of what had long been admitted to be the law, and of which, though never practised, they were reluctant to dispute the theoretic authority. The bold strides which Popery had made under this hesitation have at last overcome all minor motives, and the Address of the twenty-four Prelates assembled at Lambeth has re-established the early and just principle, '*Let acknowledged usages be observed.*' It now remains for their Lordships, and particularly the *Metropolitans*, by their vigilance, activity, and resolution, to ensure its early and complete adoption. There is no doubt that, during so long a delay, the mischief may in some places have acquired considerable tenacity, but since the Bishops, we may say as a body, have at last spoken out—if they do not act to the full scope of their engagements, they will find that they have only increased their difficulties. The time is gone by for endeavouring to propitiate refractory innovators, by permission to *preach in whites* in the morning, if they will consent to *preach in blacks* in the evening, and to set up '*candles on the altar, provided they are not lighted.*' We trust that we have all now arrived at a better appreciation both of our danger and our duties; and that in short, we shall have, all and speedily, returned with increased gratitude and zeal to the decent seriousness and sober splendour—alike removed from puritanism and popery—which the practice of certainly two, and, we believe, of three centuries had established, and, till recently, preserved with surprising uniformity in the United Church of England and Ireland.

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Established 1829.

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Trustees—The LORDS BISHOP of LONDON, DURHAM, and WINCHESTER.

Chairman of Directors—The ARCHDEACON of LONDON.

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Assurances upon Life are effected in this Office (in which all the profits made upon assurances are divided quinquennially amongst the assured members) upon the lives of clergymen, and of the sons and daughters, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces of clergymen; and upon the lives of the wives of clergymen, and of the fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces of the wives of clergymen.

Prospectuses to be had at the Office of the Society, No. 41, Parliament Street, Westminster.

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Patent Lever Watch, in double-backed, engine-turned case, the movement with the latest improvement, <i>i. e.</i> , the detached escapement, jewelled, hard enamel dial, hand to mark the seconds, and maintaining power to continue going while winding up	£4 14 0
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Either of the above in hunting cases 10s. 6d. extra.	

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Patent Lever Watch, in engine-turned, double-backed, gold case, with richly ornamented gold dial and figures, the movement with the latest improvement, <i>i. e.</i> , the detached escapement, maintaining power to keep the Watch going while winding up, and jewelled	£11 11 0
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Patent Lever Watch, in double-backed, plain, or engine-turned gold case, the movement with the latest improvement, <i>i. e.</i> , the detached escapement, jewelled in four holes, hard enamel dial, hand to mark the seconds, and maintaining power to continue going while winding up	£10 10 0
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Either of the Gentlemen's Watches may be had, in gold hunting cases, for £3 3s. each extra.

A Pamphlet describing the various constructions of Watches, and explaining the advantages of each, with lists of prices, is published, and may be had, gratis, on application, or will be sent, postage free, to any part of the British dominions.—**T. COX SAVORY & CO, 47, Cornhill, London, Seven doors from Gracechurch-street.**

NUMBER ONE, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

In Midsummer, 1849, at the recommendation of 'Chambers's Edinburgh Journal,' 'The Economist,' 'Times,' 'Weekly Dispatch' and many other organs of public opinion, we introduced Chicory on its own merits to the notice of consumers. At the time of our doing so we published a Circular, more than three million copies of which we caused to be distributed. On Chicory and the Adulteration of Coffee. In that Circular we fully entered into the question, which has lately been revived, of the gross substitution that we, and now are, in many instances, pined off upon the purchaser, not only as Chicory, but even as Coffee, such substitutions at the same time containing not a particle either of the one or of the other produce.

It is well known that a great number of consumers prefer Coffee mixed with a little pure Chicory, and after most mature consideration we have determined on following the subjoined recommendations of the 'Morning Advertiser' of the 15th inst. and of the 'Times' newspaper of the same date.

What we would suggest as the proper course to be adopted in the matter would be this—that the retailer should be prevented from selling as pure Coffee an article in which there is an admixture of Chicory.

But while we would prohibit the retail dealers in Tea and Coffee from selling that as pure Coffee in which there is a certain amount of Chicory, we would accord to the continuance of the permission which they now lawfully have to sell an admixture of Coffee and Chicory—only rendering it compulsory on them that they shall let the customers know the fact. It would then be for their customers to make their choice. To say whether they preferred Coffee in that state of perfect purity for which the London merchants are so zealous advocates, or mixed with a certain amount of Chicory. We will undertake to say that owing to the firmer flavour as well as to the cheapness of the mixed article the retail dealer would sell fifty per cent. more for every one pound they would of Coffee in its pure state. *Morning Advertiser.*

Allowing, however, for the sake of argument that the admixture of Chicory, in moderate proportions, is in the opinions of some persons an improvement, it is very certain that he who sells it is not considered to be so, and such therefore, might say to be all well as they, in the case of the compelled, is it present they frequently are, to drink Chicory, although they dislike it.—*The Times.*

We fully agree with the preceding remarks, and the public may rest assured that all articles sold by us are in truth and in fact, what they purport to be, and are sold under the names by which they are ordinarily designated.

The following articles are roasted in Silver Cylinders, and the Scale of Prices is uniform.

PURE CHICORY.

Finest Chicory, mixed, or ground in quarters loose	0	0	0	per pound
Finest Chicory, in 1 lb. tins or packages	0	0	6	"

COFFEE AND CHICORY MIXED.

Ordinary Coffee with much Chicory	0	0	8	"
Ditto ditto with less Chicory	0	0	10	"
Good Coffee with Chicory	1	0	0	"
Finest	1	2	0	"
Very Fine	1	4	0	"
Very Choice	1	6	0	"
Particularly Choice	1	8	0	"

PURE COFFEE.

GUAYANA	Native	1	0	0	1	1	"
	Good	1	0	0	1	2	"
	Prime Plantation	1	4	0	1	0	"
JAMAICA	Good to Fine	1	2	0	1	4	"
	Very Fine to Finest	1	4	0	1	6	"
COSTA RICA	A strong and good Coffee	1	3	0	1	0	"
MOLLA	Choice Old to Finest Aged	1	5	0	1	0	"

A scale of prices uniform as possible being observed throughout, and pure Chicory being much less expensive than pure Coffee, it must be evident that when Coffee and Chicory are sold mixed, a much better Coffee is used than when Coffee is sold pure. As, for instance,

15 ounces of fine Coffee, at 1s. 4d. per pound	1	1
3 ounces of best Chicory, at 5d.	0	1

16 ounces, or 1 lb. of fine Coffee and Chicory mixed, at 1s. 2d.

It would not do to let it be so, if every purchaser could make it convenient to buy Coffee and Chicory separately, and adopt the above or any other proportions for mixing that might be thought best. Should the reduction of the duties on Coffee contemplated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer be carried into effect, the prices will be altered accordingly.

DAKIN & COMPANY,

TEA MERCHANTS, AND PATENTERS FOR ROASTING COFFEE IN SILVER CYLINDERS,

NUMBER ONE, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD, LONDON.

Lady-day, 1851.

'We put it to Coffee merchants and respectable dealers, whether it be not advisable that they should themselves take some steps to supply the public with cheap and effective coffee-mills.—*The Lancet* 16th March, 1851.

The following has continually appeared in our Price Currents for now some years—

In order to insure to consumers the certainty of using only pure Coffee, DAKIN & COMPANY recommend Purchasers to buy their Coffee whole, and to grind it themselves. With the view of affording every facility for so doing, DAKIN & COMPANY continue to supply an excellent cast iron Coffee-mill, complete, with adjusting screw and small drawer, for the cost price, namely 3s. 6d.

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THE Managers beg to inform the Public that they have now determined that all policies effected after Midsummer, 1850, and remaining in force at each septennial period of division, shall PARTICIPATE IN FOUR-FIFTHS of the Net Profits of the Society accruing after Midsummer, 1850, in proportion to their contributions to those profits, and subject to the restrictions imposed by the Society's Act of Parliament, 7th of William IV. cap. 47.

The policies to which the profits are awarded are those insuring £100 or upwards for the whole duration of life, upon which at least five annual payments of Premium have been made; they are classed according to the countries from which they are proposed.

The Premiums required by this Society for insuring young lives are much lower than many other old established offices, and as low as most offices. Persons desirous of insuring lives will see that this Society now presents many advantages, and offers great inducements to Insurers, who are fully protected from all risk by an ample guarantee fund in addition to the accumulated funds derived from the investments of Premiums.

The share of profit apportioned to each policy-holder at each septennial valuation may be received in any one of the following ways, viz.—

1. By a payment in then present money;
2. By an equivalent Augmentation of the Sum assured, payable at the extinction of the life;

3. By an equivalent Reduction of the subsequent annual premium; provided that a written declaration of such option be left at the Office of the Society within Three Months next after the division shall have been declared; and if such Option be not so declared, the Sum previously assured by the policy will receive an Augmentation equivalent to the profits such policy may be entitled to in then present money.

Terms of Years.—Assurances may be effected for any terms of years.

Single Premium.—An Assurance for the whole period of life may also be paid for in one sum at the time it is effected.

Limited Number of Annual Premiums.—An Assurance for the whole of life may also be paid for by an annual premium during a *definite* number of years only; but to cease with the failure of the life during that limited Term of Years.

Joint Lives.—An Assurance may be effected on the joint continuance of two lives, either by a Single or Annual Premium; the sum insured to be paid as soon as either of the two lives shall drop.

Last Survivor.—An Assurance may be effected on the life of a Survivor of two, or the last Survivor of three lives; in the first case the sum insured is payable on the failure of the second of the two lives; and in the last case not until the failure of the last of the three lives.

Policies Purchased.—If the holder of a policy for the whole of life wish to discontinue the insurance, this Society will purchase it after four annual premiums have been paid.

Loans on Policies.—Loans on Policies are granted not exceeding the Office Value of them, after four Annual Premiums have been paid, and they have acquired a value of not less than £25.

Foreign Residence.—Persons whose Lives are Insured in this Office are allowed to reside in any part of Europe, and to pass by sea during peace from any one part of Europe to any other part of Europe, without extra premium.

Attendance daily at the Office in THREADNEEDLE STREET, from Ten o'clock in the Morning till Four in the Afternoon, except on SATURDAYS, when it closes at Two.

* * COMMITTEES, before whom persons on whose lives assurances are proposed may present themselves, are held every Tuesday and Friday at One o'clock.

CHARLES HENRY LITTLEDALE, Actuary.

EDINBURGH LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY,

(ESTABLISHED IN 1823.)

INCORPORATED BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT.

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THE following are the advantages derived by an Insurance with this Company:—

Mutual Assurance without liability.

Nine-tenths of the whole Profits septennially divisible among the Assured.

An intermediate Bonus on Policies becoming claims between one investigation and another.

The most equitable principle of division.

Rates of Premium extremely moderate.

SPECIMEN OF RATES FOR INSURING 100*l.* ON A SINGLE LIFE.

Age	Without Participation.			With Participation.	
	One Year.	Seven Years.	For Life.	Age.	For Life.
20	£0 17 3	£0 19 11	£1 14 2	20	£1 17 7
30	1 1 3	1 4 8	2 3 7	30	2 7 1
40	1 6 10	1 11 10	2 17 11	40	3 3 2
50	1 15 1	2 4 5	4 1 7	50	4 9 0
60	3 1 8	3 18 11	6 4 4	60	6 15 8

The benefits of the participation plan of insurance are exhibited in the following examples of

Bonus Additions to Policies effected with this Company.

No. of Policy.	Age at Assuring.	Sum Assured.	Bonus, 1845.	Bonus, 1842.	Bonus, 1849.	Total Sum now Payable.
560	67	£100 0 0	£16 12 0	£29 1 0	£82 1 0	£227 14 0
484	62	1500 0 0	251 19 0	377 6 0	903 2 0	3012 7 0
266	60	300 0 0	50 2 0	72 10 0	168 16 0	591 8 0
9	54	1000 0 0	151 6 0	172 5 0	356 1 0	1679 12 0
2	47	2000 0 0	249 3 0	267 16 0	463 17 0	2980 16 0

It will be observed that, in some instances, the above bonuses amount together to more than the sum originally insured—a feature of success of which few offices can boast.

No office can reasonably hold out greater benefits. Prospectuses and rates may be obtained at the London Office as above.

In effecting a policy, no entry money or other charge is made beyond the Premium and Stamp.

London, 11, King William Street, City.

J. Rev., No. 176

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[Empowered by Special Act of Parliament, 5 and 6 WILL. IV., c. 76.]

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In addition to a large subscribed Capital, Assurers have the security of an Assurance Fund of upwards of three hundred thousand pounds, and an Annual Income of 70,000*l.*, arising from the issue of nearly 7000 Policies.

BONUS, OR PROFIT BRANCH.

Persons assuring on the Bonus System will be annually entitled to 80 per cent. of the profits on this branch (after payment of five yearly premiums); and the profit assigned to each Policy may be either added to the sum assured, or applied in reduction of the Annual Premium.

NON-BONUS, OR LOW PREMIUM BRANCH.

The Tables on the non-participating principle afford peculiar advantages to the assured, not offered by any other office,—and where the object is the least possible outlay in the first instance, they secure to the Policy-holder the payment of a certain sum at the death of the Assured, at a very reduced rate of Premium.

ANNUAL PREMIUM TO ASSURE £100.

Age.	For One Year.		For Seven Years.		WHOLE TERM.			
					With Profits.		Without Profits.	
	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
20	0	17	8	0	19	1	1	10
30	1	1	8	1	3	3	5	7
40	1	3	0	1	3	0	7	14
50	1	4	1	1	4	6	8	11
60	2	2	4	2	6	13	9	10

One-half of the 'Whole-Term' Premium may remain on credit for seven years, or one-third of the Premium may remain for life, as a debt upon the Policy, at 5 per cent., or may be paid off at any time without notice.

Policies assigned as *bond fide* security not void by death from suicide, duelling, or the hands of justice. In cases of death by the above causes, the gross amount of Premiums received will be returned. Premiums paid half-yearly or quarterly. Assurances granted upon lives up to the age of 80.—Tables upon an increasing and decreasing scale of payment.

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